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ABSTRACT

Three papers on assessment and planning in bilingual education are presented. In "Language Theory Bases," Rosaura Sanchez advocates an approach toward child bilingual education that takes into account the relationship between the parallel domains of language development and cognitive development. An awareness of this relationship is deemed necessary in order to prescribe educational strategies that can build on students' existing skills and accomplish their transfer into other domains. "Assessment/Diagnostic Practice," by Harriett Romo, addresses the practical problems of deriving the assessment information specified in the Sanchez paper. A warning is given that a language assessment situation can actually inhibit students' performance. The development of assessment instruments is discussed. "Educational Prescriptions," by Iris Santos-Rivera and Byron Williams, suggests educational applications based on language/cognition assessment data. A variety of bilingual program models are discussed, and specific educational strategies are recommended to respond to specific student needs. Appendices include: (1) an outline of subjects to be covered in a needs assessment instrument, (2) a language assessment instrument designed to determine inservice needs of teaching staff, (3) a sample sociolinguistic survey, and (4) an example of integrated thematic/language/concept lesson development. (Author/JB)

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ISSUES IN LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY ASSESSMENT

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Denver, Colorado.

A Lau Student is one whose home language is other than English, regardless of the language spoken by the student, and who is not performing conceptually and linguistically at a level equal to or better than the district standard of proficiency.

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5544½ Hardy Avenue
San Diego, California 92182

ISSUES IN LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY ASSESSMENT

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INTRODUCTION

We are seeing a tremendous increase of activity in the field of bilingual education as public schools seek ways to meet the educational needs of language minority students in the light of Lau v. Nichols. The task is complicated. There has been no consensus as to what such students' needs really are, other than their needs to acquire academic proficiencies and English-language competencies; there has been no clear consensus as to which of these--academic proficiency or English-language competence--should be most emphasized or is dependent on the other. Nor has there been agreement as to the desired relationship between English-language and home language development. There has been no consensus, even, as to just what "Non English Speaking" and "Limited English Speaking" mean or how students are to be identified as belonging to those categories.

It is within a context of considerable uncertainty about goals and methods that educators face their immediate need to plan and implement bilingual education programs. So they make assumptions--often almost unconsciously--about student needs, language-related problems, cognitive development, etc., and they plan their programs and set their implementation in motion. Research, study, evaluation, and development, instead of being precursors of bilingual program planning, are carried out in parallel. This has inevitably added confusion and often frustration as the research findings of today shed new light on the plans made yesterday and meant to be put into practice today.

There is a need to pull together the theoretical and practical bases of bilingual education so that clear goals can be confidently set and sound methodologies employed to meet them. This manual, dealing principally with issues of language assessment and educational prescription, is meant to be a part of an integrating effort of theory and practice for the building of a solid bilingual education foundation. It addresses language assessment issues from three distinct perspectives: what information should language assessment yield; what does an assessor face in trying to develop that information; and how should assessment information be used to provide appropriate educational prescriptions for Lau students.

In Part One, "Language Theory Bases," Dr. Rosaura Sanchez establishes the inextricable connection between language development and cognitive development, making it clear that attempts to provide for either development alone must be frustrated. She demonstrates, also, that linguistic skills development takes place in a variety of parallel language domains, each of which reflects a different socio-cultural domain. Cognitive skills may not be apparent if a student is tested in a language domain not included in his repertoire; therefore, assessment processes must be such as to permit identification of linguistic and cognitive skills in whatever domain they are most highly developed. The schools' task, then, is to encourage the further

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development of language and cognition skills and to provide for their transfer into other domains, thus helping students to broaden their language repertoires as they increase their knowledge. Dr. Sanchez establishes the specifics of language/cognition information necessary for the prescription of educational strategies that can effectively build on a students' existing skills and can best accomplish their transfer into other domains.

Part Two, "Assessment/Diagnostic Practice," addresses the practical problems of deriving the assessment information specified in Part One. Harriett Romo looks at the most prevalent assessment assumptions that are embodied in current language assessment instruments and processes, noting a generalized lack of instruments adequate to provide the kind of assessment information needed. Romo discusses specifics of language assessment planning and suggests criteria for instrument evaluation. Especially useful is her discussion of the ways a language assessment situation can actually inhibit students' performance, negatively biasing the very information assessment seeks to identify.

Conscious of the important role played by adults in any students' school experience, Romo reviews research into the effects of teacher attitudes both on academic achievement and language testing. This becomes a basis for her discussion of staff development needs for accurate and relevant language and cognition assessment, scoring, and interpretation.

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The third section of this manual, "Educational Prescriptions," by Iris Santos-Rivera and Byron Williams, suggests educational prescriptions based on language/cognition assessment data. Drawing on the implications for learning developed by Dr. Sanchez, Santos-Rivera and Williams examine a variety of bilingual program models and recommend specific educational strategies to respond to specific student needs. Given the school tasks of encouraging language and cognition development in the students' strongest domain and of assisting in the transfer of skills into other domains, the authors argue for language development programs that emphasize communication, for language learning integrated with content learning, and for teaching approaches that present new subject matter linked closely to the students' existential concerns. The authors discuss strategies developed by Sylvia Ashton-Warner, Herbert Kohl and Paulo Freire in an effort to give clear and concrete examples, practically useful to teachers, of approaches for developing student-relevant learning situations.

It is the hope of this manual's authors that educators will derive from it a clearer understanding of the need to approach language assessment as a tool directly useful in shaping educational programs; an improved ability to plan and carry out assessment programs; a clearer vision of the needs and potentials of Lau students; and a livelier belief in an honest program's ability to help students to fulfill their potentials. Which is what Lau students need.

PART ONE

LANGUAGE THEORY BASES

by

Dr. Rosaura Sanchez

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LANGUAGE THEORY BASES by Dr. Rosaura Sanchez

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LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT NEEDS

Language assessment, in Bilingual Education, has been instituted for classifying national origin students in terms of their English language ability so that they may be placed in appropriate educational programs. Following the Supreme Court ruling which recognized that "inability to speak and understand the English language" constituted a "language deficiency" to be rectified, many school districts acknowledging the presence of the Non English-speaking (NES) and the Limited English-speaking (LES) in their classrooms have limited themselves to identifying and planning for these students only. However, the Lau Task Force Remedies (1975)* stipulate that school districts must meet the needs of all limited English-speaking as well as non-achieving national origin students. Interpretations of the Supreme Court decision have not (so far) extended explicit recognition of the language rights of all residents of this country. The remedies do specifically require, however, educational programs which take into account the affective and cognitive development of the national origin students and enable them to attain adequate educational levels. The relation between academic achievement and language development, although implicit in the guidelines, has as yet led to no significant changes in assessment and classification procedures.

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*Developed for the U.S. Office of Civil Rights as criteria for determining whether school districts' educational master plans provide adequate services to Lau students.

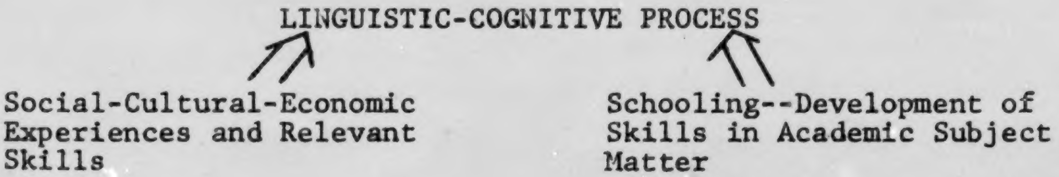
The Lau Guidelines (HEW/OCR Task Force Remedies, 1975) call for a three-step procedure in language assessment:
a) identification of student's primary or home language,
b) assessment of degree of language ability in English, and
c) cross-validation of (a) and (b) through a test of language dominance or another method. This particular plan for assessment has led to the appearance on the market of several language assessment instruments which purport to determine language dominance but in fact do not. These tests have been used to classify NES and LES students in the schools without offering significant information on students' actual English language proficiencies. Contrary to current definition, determination of language dominance is a much more complex procedure which involves assessing language choice and language frequency in specific domains as well as comparing attainment on the linguistic continuums of two or more languages. The inadequacy of existing instruments and classification procedures points to a larger problem: the objective of language assessment.

Until now, the instruments have concentrated on determining in some measure a student's grammatical competence in the English language and, in some cases, the home language.

Linguistic knowledge, however, cannot be defined simply in terms of the production of particular structures in response to stimuli. Not only have linguists repeatedly argued that one cannot infer competence directly from performance but they have also pointed out that misinterpretations occur in the assessment of the language competencies of minority children. Labov has been particularly instrumental in pointing out the need to consider situational factors in any type of research or assessment design.[1]

The particular design of existing instruments has led to educational concern for the teaching of particular morphological and syntactic structures. Language is being taught in a vacuum, devoid of meaningful content and separated from basic curricular content areas. Teachers are thus more concerned with being able to check off particular grammatical items covered (tenses, morphemes, etc.) on a given linguistic skills continuum than with language content or language use. Focusing on grammatical competence has led to a concentration on form to the exclusion of content. Because testing has traditionally been seen as a way of ensuring that specific school curricula meet state standards (as specified, for example, in California AB 1329), it is absolutely important that a Lau compliance procedure for language assessment encompass the various aspects of the language process which can serve as the basis for improved teaching objectives.

Language assessment must take into account the fact that the linguistic process is inseparably connected to mental and social development. And because schooling is simply one factor--one aspect of objective reality which affects linguistic, cognitive and social development--the language assessment process must incorporate all these interdependent factors into its design. The following diagram illustrates the interdependence of these factors:


LINGUISTIC-COGNITIVE PROCESS

Social-Cultural-Economic Experiences and Relevant Skills

Schooling--Development of Skills in Academic Subject Matter

What the student brings to school (experiences, language repertoire and cognitive development) and what the school provides (additional skills for new settings and subject matter) together will determine the development of the student's capacity to observe, to think and to act.

It is vitally important that language be seen as a social phenomenon which allows for communication in different situations and which reflects the cultural experience of the speaker. All speakers possess a repertoire of several varieties of language and shift from one variety to another in the context of given social factors. By varieties, we mean both registers (styles) and dialects, all of which differ in terms of grammatical rules (morpho-syntactic, phonological, lexical or semantic).[2] A student's repertoire may reflect some varieties not used by the teacher and may lack others that the dominant society requires for functioning in the academic or occupational world. It is the school's function not only to assess which varieties of a language or languages a student already possesses but to enable him to acquire additional varieties that will allow him to function in many varied situations. School has traditionally meant spoon-feeding the student information with little time spent, especially in schools for minority students, in increasing verbalization, both oral and written, in the classroom (see Civil Rights Commission Reports on Education of Mexican Americans, 1971). The verbalization skills that the students already bring with them are not being channeled into new contexts and allowed to expand. Educators must not assume that the lack of a particular variety or the inability to speak English means deficient verbal skills. These students may be highly skilled in their particular language varieties. The schools must produce language shifters: students who can shift with ease from one language variety to another, from one language to another, whenever appropriate, retaining the varieties they bring from home and acquiring additional ones at school.

Information on language use and language varieties will be crucial for the preparation of language assessment instruments. Scoring procedures must recognize that students may respond to given stimuli in a variety other than the standard, or that they may respond in a code-shifted utterance which incorporates the primary language and English. Again, grammatical competence and language functions cannot be determined solely on the basis of performance in a standard variety. The instrument should elicit language in contexts which reflect actual language use by the student. For example, to ascertain whether a student uses Spanish fluently may call for a stimulus and context related to his home or community rather than one related only to academic subject matter. If assessment takes place in relation to particular cultural settings, the results of the evaluation should demonstrate the types of proficiencies and skills that the student possesses. These skills can then serve as the basis for further development through their incorporation in particular lessons or teaching strategies.

Linguists and psychologists studying the relation of culture and cognition have found that what differs between various groups is not so much the cognitive skills possessed by the groups but "the situations to which different cultural groups apply their skills."[3] Problems arise when a member of one cultural group is asked to perform in situations alien to his background. The assessment of linguistic and cognitive capacity must be tailored to the student's experiential range if one is to assess correctly a student's competence and skills application. At the same time, the school must enable the student to expand his performance by transferring his already-possessed skills to new tasks and settings.[4] In some cases, however, the student will not be able to demonstrate particular skills in conceptualization for reasons which may be connected with the maturation process or with inappropriate assessment design. When skills in conceptualization are assessed, it is important to use instruments that require students to generalize, analyze and evaluate in oral or written form. Psychometricians have unfortunately restricted their tests for cognition to assessment of very specific and limited logical and computational skills without incorporating the notion of transfer or application of these skills to more meaningful situations that demonstrate critical and creative thinking. Cognitive development and academic achievement must be assessed in the student's primary language. One cannot assume that failure to achieve in English implies a lack of cognitive skills, for the student may well have the cognitive skills but lack English proficiency. It is important to remember that achievement tests also test language proficiency (as well as test-taking skills, familiarity with cultural orientation, etc., etc.). Once assessed in the primary language, these linguistic and cognitive skills must continue to be developed in that language. In the final analysis, language choice is only a secondary matter. The crucial thing is the student's cognitive development to a problem-solving and concept-forming stage.

The type of assessment we are proposing here involves three basic steps:

1) Socio-Economic-Cultural Needs Assessment of School Community

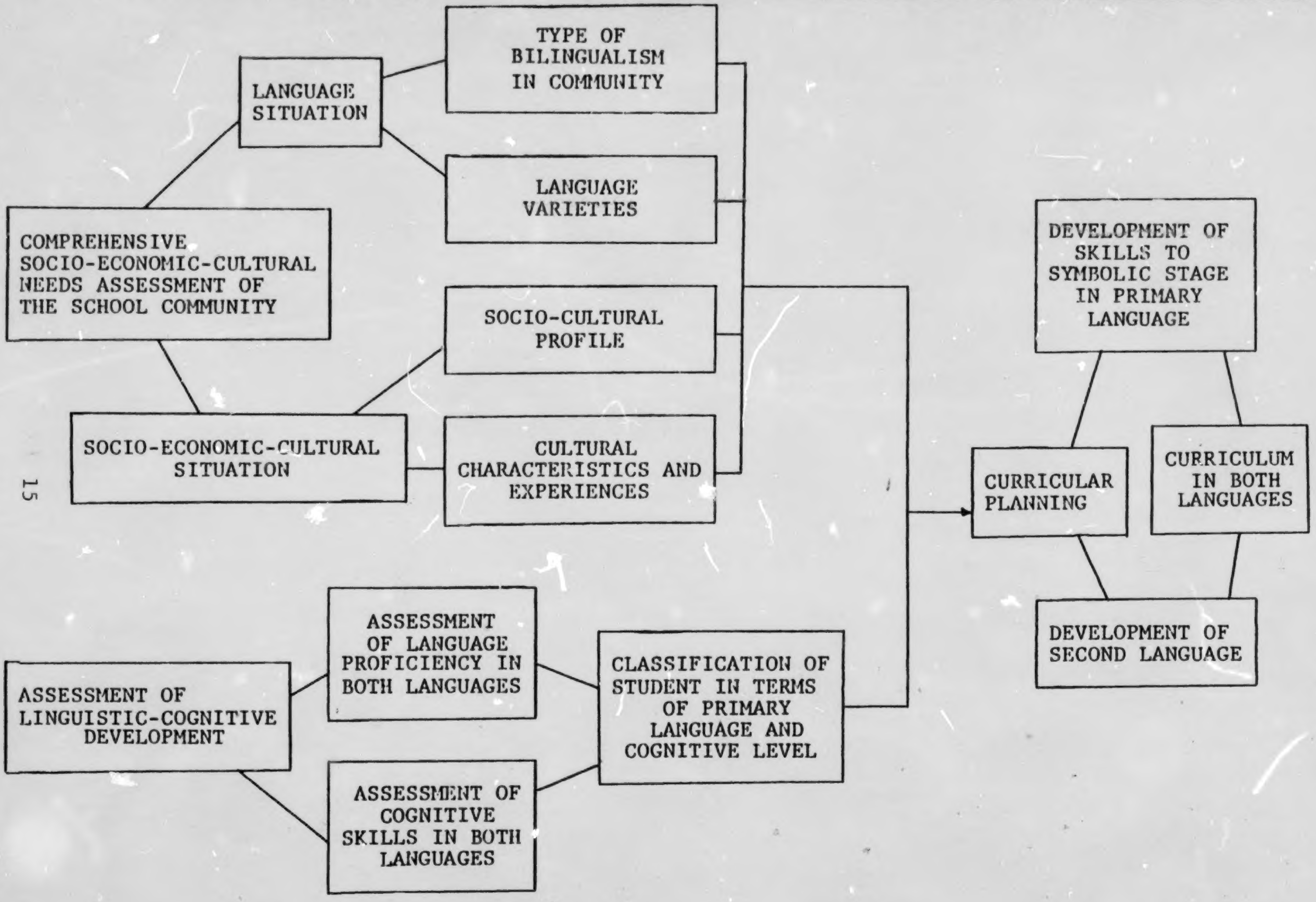
2) Assessment of Linguistic-Cognitive Development

3) Curricular Planning,

as illustrated in the expanded diagram on page 15:

The first step would require surveying the community to determine the language situation and the socio-cultural make-up of the community involved. Assessment and school curriculum must reflect the language situation. In the case of language minorities, this survey would reveal the type of bilingualism, the type of language contact, and the language varieties prevalent in the community. A socio-economic-cultural survey would define the economic standing and occupational level of families, describe important cultural characteristics of the school community, and provide insights necessary for the formulation of culturally relevant assessment questions and curricula.

The second step would require an assessment of students' linguistic and cognitive development, taking into consideration each student's age and grade level. This step must include both an assessment of language proficiency in the two languages and an assessment of cognitive skills in the two languages. Only from this joint linguistic and cognitive assessment will teachers be able to determine both the student's primary language and his cognitive level. The actual assessment must test for linguistic competence rather than performance in

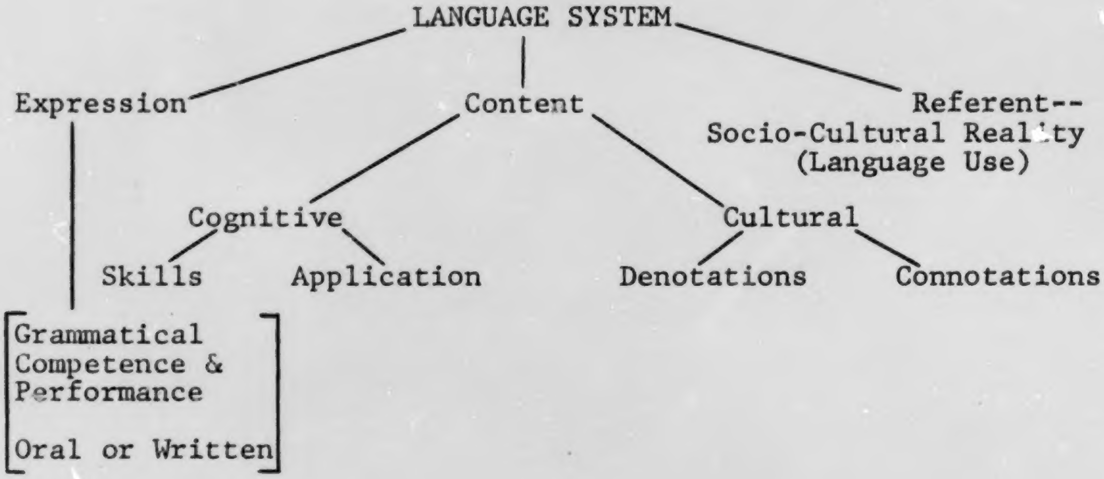

LANGUAGE SITUATION
TYPE OF BILINGUALISM IN COMMUNITY
LANGUAGE VARIETIES
COMPREHENSIVE SOCIO-ECONOMIC-CULTURAL NEEDS ASSESSMENT OF THE SCHOOL COMMUNITY
SOCIO-CULTURAL PROFILE
SOCIO-ECONOMIC-CULTURAL SITUATION
CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS AND EXPERIENCES
DEVELOPMENT OF SKILLS TO SYMBOLIC STAGE IN PRIMARY LANGUAGE
CURRICULAR PLANNING
CURRICULUM IN BOTH LANGUAGES
DEVELOPMENT OF SECOND LANGUAGE
ASSESSMENT OF LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY IN BOTH LANGUAGES
ASSESSMENT OF LINGUISTIC-COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT
CLASSIFICATION OF STUDENT IN TERMS OF PRIMARY LANGUAGE AND COGNITIVE LEVEL
ASSESSMENT OF COGNITIVE SKILLS IN BOTH LANGUAGES

particular varieties and for skill capacity in settings familiar to the student.

Together the Socio-Economic-Cultural Needs Assessment Survey and the Linguistic-Cognitive Assessment will provide a diagnostic basis for designing curriculum and prescribing educational programs. The primary objective of schooling must be the development of a student's capacity to conceptualize in his primary language. A second objective is the development of skills in the second language. Once the first is achieved, and after the student has acquired the ability to function in the second language, the curriculum can be offered in both languages.

This plan calls for continuous reassessment of the student's conceptual and linguistic development. If we consider that full human development requires allowing for full linguistic, mental and social development, then it would be restrictive and growth-stunting to allow a student to lose an already-possessed skill. By so doing we may well be limiting full social and mental development and frustrating students to the point where they drop out of school.

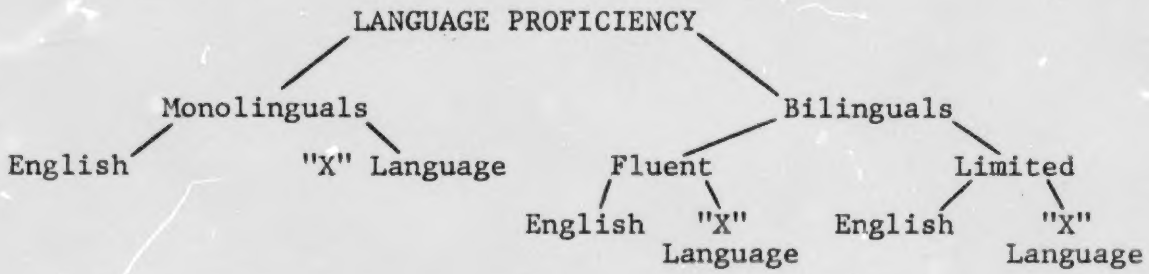
It is important to consider language assessment in the context of all those factors which affect language. As a sign system, language is both a linguistic and social product, both form and content, and composed of linguistic, cognitive and cultural units:


LANGUAGE SYSTEM
Expression
Content
Referent--
Socio-Cultural Reality
(Language Use)
Cognitive
Cultural
Skills
Application
Denotations
Connotations
Grammatical
Competence &
Performance
Oral or Written

An appropriate instrument that assesses language must take cognizance of all these components. If appropriate instruments were made available, limited ability in any one area would be evident through assessment.

In the area of grammatical competence, the students' language development must be assessed in terms of a linguistic continuum. Competence, of course, may be demonstrated through production in any language or language variety or through comprehension evidenced by physical response. Since children acquire most of their basic structures in a language between the ages of 4 and 6, one can assume that incoming school-age children who are monolingual speakers of either English or another language will have acquired these basic structures in whatever variety or varieties. Difficulties arise, however, in the assessment of bilingual students who have acquired both languages yet whose language performance in given situations may be limited--as we shall discuss later.

Overall assessment must take the following groups into consideration:


LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY
Monolinguals
Bilinguals
English
"X" Language
Fluent
Limited
English
"X" Language
English
"X" Language

The label "limited" as used in the diagram may refer to a student with receptive skills only (one who possesses listening comprehension skills only); to a student with limited speaking, reading or writing skills; or to a student with limited socio-linguistic skills who can function in some domains but not in others. Since linguistic capacity may vary according to domain, students may not fall entirely under one classification. A student, for example, may have limited speaking skills in situations that address particular topics. In another situation--for example, one that calls for describing a haunted house in his community--he or she may be quite proficient.

The question of language assessment, which has been dealt with rather simplistically by schools in an effort to comply with minimal state and federal requirements (AB1329, 1977, and Lau Task Force Remedies 1975) has implications for the implementation and/or expansion of bilingual education programs. The assessment of grammatical performance in limited contexts to assess particular structures or grammatical rules is not enough. While it is true that "language is used to express the child's cognitions of his environment--physical and social," and that a child "cannot begin to use a given linguistic form meaningfully until he is able to understand what it means,"[5] it is also true that linguistic forms from standard varieties cannot alone determine the psychological or cognitive complexity of what is expressed. There are always non-systemic ways of expressing the same notions, and these non-systemic or non-standard forms occur in the language of adults constantly. Therefore, cognitive and semantic complexity cannot be made out to be synonomous with linguistic complexity as measured on a standard variety continuum.

LANGUAGE AND THOUGHT

Language assessment must be considered not simply as a programmatic tool to ensure special funding or to excuse a school from providing certain programs, but as a fundamental procedure necessary in all schools to ensure appropriate linguistic and cognitive development of all students. As we have seen, language assessment unfortunately has been construed as the assessment of particular linguistic structures, as if sign systems consisted only of form devoid of meaning. Educators must recognize the inseparable nature of language and cognition and must begin to assess for cognitive-linguistic development, rather than simply for the acquisition of particular language structures.

The question of the relation between thought and language has been much debated. Some linguists prefer to consider both as autonomous systems while others see thought as language-thinking.[6] Problems arise as well in the definition of thinking. Often, thought is confused with sensorial perception, which although a product of cerebral action, like thought, is not limited to human beings. Animals, too, can be intelligent creatures, can use tools and learn by "trial and error" but only human beings are capable of generating language.

Only human beings can think: that is, generalize and create higher order structures from simple conceptual structures.[7]

Thinking, as used in this paper, refers to conceptual thinking, to a person's ability to generalize, analyze, abstract and synthesize. This conceptual thinking is impossible without language. Schaff has indicated that there is no thought process without linguistic process, although these are not identical.[8] He further indicates that "the cognitive function of thinking cannot be performed without language and the communicative function of language cannot be performed without thinking." The role of language in the process of cognition should be a major concern in language assessment.

The assessment of language must consider language as both a biological and a social product. It is a biological product because it is the product of matter, the brain, and involves neural coding and recoding. People are endowed with the innate capacity to develop speech, but the actual process of language acquisition involves the presence of external factors as well. Language is thus a social product, a social system of signs used for communication. The relation of language to thought can be approached from a neuropsychological perspective which studies the brain mechanisms which participate in the process of language production and thinking. Neural coding and storage, as well as the process of recognition and recall in memory search or in the production of context sensitive symbols are not, however, the topics of

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primary importance to a position paper concerned with educational objectives.[9] The consideration of language and thinking as social products is quite significant. It is important to consider that human beings think in terms of their experiences, and that objective social reality in effect determines the content of cognition. Language, then, serves as an active mediating vehicle between the material world and the individual thinking subject.

It is the role of language as the means for conceptual thinking and cognitive development that has been forgotten in language assessment. Since the process of cognition is always encoded, it is important that language assessment consider not only the form of expression, whether oral or written, and the acquisition of particular structures, but the form of content as well: that is, the cognitive, social and cultural content of language. Language is necessarily and inseparably both form (expression) and content (meaning). The linguistic process must therefore be considered in its relation to the cognitive process. Together, the linguistic and cognitive processes provide a means for knowing and actively approaching objective reality to transform it eventually through action.

As a social product, language reflects natural and social reality and shapes the content of thought. The faculty of abstraction, generalization and conceptualization develops in all human beings, whatever their culture or language. The process of cognition is not restricted to speakers of particular varieties of language nor is it limited to particular contextual considerations. Yet it is of utmost importance to remember that the cognitive and linguistic processes occur within the particular social conditions of the individuals concerned. Assessment must therefore take into consideration the experiences of the individual student, and must use those experiences to assess development in the conceptualization of his or her reality.

LANGUAGE AND COGNITION*

The acquisition of language has often been seen in terms of either internal or external factors. Predeterminist-Preformationists such as Ausubel have tended to see the language acquisition in terms of biological factors, while behaviorists have maintained an environmentalist orientation which assumes that language acquisition is a conditioned response to some linguistic stimulus.[10] Interactionists like Piaget, on the other hand, have seen the interaction of both the hereditary structure and the environmental factors.[11] Modern psycholinguists see language acquisition as a universal phenomenon and argue that all children go through identical stages of language acquisition, and that grammatical development depends not so much on reinforcement or imitation but on the child's opportunity to surround himself with a rich linguistic environment and to engage in conversation with those in his language community. What a child acquires from adults is not the ability to produce particular utterances but data which will be be processed, analyzed and systematized into a grammar. Modern linguists postulate that as a child learns language, he or she formulates a series of trial grammars. At each stage, the grammar consists of a series of rules which account for a set of sentences. As the child acquires further and more complex structures, grammar changes in terms of number of rules and in computational complexity. By the age of five or six the child has mastered most of the syntactic machinery of his or her language and has acquired a considerable vocabulary as well. Both the interactionists and modern linguists have a developmental theory of language which provides the bases of our position on language assessment.

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*Thanks to Piaget, Bruner, Cole and R. Kestelman.

Piaget's formulation is especially important because he saw linguistic development in relation to cognitive development and as part of human development. Human development is seen to occur within particular social and historical conditions, involving the development of particular biological capacities in human beings. Piaget described four stages of human development, each of which implied a type of cognition. His general model of thought development includes the following:[12]

Stage One:
Acquisition of Perceptual Invariants (under two years of age)

Stage Two:
Preoperational intuitive thinking, characterized by ego-centrism (from about two to seven)

Stage Three:
Concrete operational thinking, characterized by verbal syncretism (from about seven to about eleven)

Stage Four:
Formal operational thinking (after eleven)

Houston summarizes these stages as follows:

> In the first stage the child begins to discover objects and movements in the environment; initially he reacts to objects in the main by grasping or sucking, but soon acquires the capacity to handle objects more selectively. During the second stage the child attains elementary concepts of space, time and causality, although these concepts are purportedly based on his internal notions rather than on objective reality. By the third stage, that of concrete operational thinking, the child has learned the permanence of objects, that is, that an object remains the same no matter at what angle it is viewed, and that it does not abruptly cease to exist when the child has lost sight of it. During this stage the child becomes better able to recognize genuine equivalences between physical or logical units. Abstract conceptualization is not yet fully developed but the child can work efficiently with real, present objects. Finally, the ability to reason logically and to handle abstract concepts develops during the fourth stage, after the age of eleven or so.[13]

The third and fourth stages, where concrete operational and formal propositional thinking occur, interest us particularly. These stages mark the beginning of objectivization: a kind of knowledge different from sensory-motor, practical knowledge. An interiorization, or symbol-forming process, takes place in relation to external acts.[14] It is during the second stage, sometime between the ages of four and six, that the child masters most of the syntactic mechanisms of his language and starts school.[15] Thus, although children begin to speak between their eighteenth and twenty-eighth month of life, and develop most of their linguistic structures between four and six, the third and fourth stages are the crucial ones in terms of cognitive development and the impact of schooling.[16]

More recent psychological studies have questioned this categorical age division of cognitive stages by studying the effects of situational factors on performance.[17] Among these is [illegible]r, who also sees cognitive growth from a developmental perspective. Like Piaget, Bruner sees three major epochs which he describes in semiotic terms. For Bruner, the child progresses from "enactive representation," based on motor responses or actions evoked, to "iconic representation," based on visual images, and on to "symbolic representation," based on an abstract system of symbols.[18] Bruner also sees culture and schooling as important factors influencing concept attainment and problem-solving capacities. Bruner, who analyzes cognitive growth as a capacity for reasoning symbolically, also finds a correlation between language and cognition. According to J.M. Anglin, "Bruner and his colleagues demonstrated in a wide variety of tasks a correlation between the child's performance and the language he used in describing his reasons for that performance."[19] Unlike Piaget, Bruner has gone beyond the age factor and explored the effect of culture on cognition. In an article written with Michael Cole, Bruner rejects the deficit hypothesis, which explains linguistic and cultural differences (a la Bernstein) in terms of verbal and cultural deficiencies.[20] Bruner and Cole argue along with Labov that "situational factors are important determinants of psychological performance;" "that cultural differences reside more in differences in the situation to which different cultural groups apply their skills than to differences in the skills possessed by the group in question;" and that rather than creating "new intellectual structures," the teacher must "start concentrating on how to get the child to transfer skills he already possesses to the task at hand."[21]

If, as Piaget and Bruner indicate, language development and cognitive development are inter-related, then the main objective of schooling must be to provide ample opportunities and experiences for growth and development of skills in symbolic operations. Educators (as well as the Supreme Court in *Lau* vs. *Nichols*, 1974) have already recognized that cognitive development is impeded or delayed when a student who speaks one language is forced to receive instruction and perform academically in another. Bilingual education programs have been set up to deal with just such situations. Whether these programs have met their objectives or not raises more questions about the adequacy and competence of the teaching personnel and the organizational support provided by the school and community than it does about the effectiveness of bilingual education. Many programs are transitional bilingual education programs where the acquisition of minimal proficiency in the English language suffices to transfer the student to English-language instruction. *Bilingual programs with exit criteria defined as acceptable performance on existing language assessment tests are in fact divorcing language and cognition*. These programs assume that minimal grammatical competence, as evidenced by the production of certain basic structures, indicates readiness for total English instruction and permits the school to end primary language development. When the student has been denied the right to develop his or her primary language to a formal symbolic stage, the student has proven to be severely limited in the development of his second language.[22] Some educators would argue that once the second language has been acquired the student will continue to develop cognitively in the second language. To reinforce this argument, references are often made to immersion programs where instruction in the second language has been shown to have had no ill effects on cognitive development. In most examples cited (like the Quebec study), the situational factors (social, economic, political, and cultural) were quite different from those of national origin students in the United States.[23] In the Philippine example, where students taught in an all-English curriculum in elementary schools were said to produce the best results, it was demonstrated that personnel and materials factors intervened. According to Sibayan, "the teachers in the English curriculum were better trained and the materials were better prepared."[24] Although we do not question that full immersion in the English language could conceivably achieve excellent results given the right social and pedagogical factors, we are forced to recognize that language minority students in the United States with a long history of immersion and submersion in English-language classrooms have failed to achieve academically, with very few exceptions. Reading and math scores are usually lowest in schools with high minority student concentrations. By denying language minority students the right to develop their primary language to a concept-forming level, the schools are condemning them to a limited cognitive and linguistic development. Christina Bratt Paulston's report on a study of 687 migrant Finnish students in Swedish schools whose linguistic level and development in both their mother tongue and Swedish was tested argues strongly for continued development in the primary language:

> In general Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa found that the children's rate of improvement in Swedish was not as fast as the regression in the mother tongue. Although ability factors influenced the learning of Swedish it is very clear "that the better a pupil has preserved his mother tongue, the better are his prerequisites for learning the second language." Overwhelmingly, the better a student knew Finnish (as a function of having attended school for several years in Finland), the better he learned Swedish. An examination of language skills of siblings found that those who moved from Finland at an average age of ten have preserved an almost normal Finnish language level and they also approach normal level in Swedish of Swedish pupils. Those who moved at the age of twelve also achieve language skills comparable to those of the Swedes although learning the language takes place more slowly. The children who moved under the age of six or who were born in Sweden do not do as well. Their Swedish language development "often stops at the age of about twelve, evidently because of their poor grounding in the mother tongue." Worst off are the pupils who were seven to eight when they moved to Sweden. 'The verbal development of these children, who moved just after school was beginning, (children begin school at seven in Sweden) underwent serious disturbance after the move. This also has a detrimental

> effect on learning Swedish.' The evidence is perfectly clear that mother tongue development facilitates the learning of the second language, and there are serious implications that without such development neither language may be learned well, resulting in semilingualism.[25]

This data is supported by personal reports from teachers working with children who have studied in their native languages in their own countries for several years before immigrating to the United States. These children, generally classified as NES/LES when they enter U.S. schools, only have initial difficulties with the English language. Obviously a great deal of research on these students in terms of education in their native lands, rural or urban residence, socio-economic standing and academic progress in U.S. schools is necessary to corroborate these findings.

The group, however, that has been almost entirely neglected and is actually the largest among the language minority student groups is that of bilingual students with varying degrees of proficiency in both English and the other language. These students, including both the achieving and the large numbers of underachieving students, are generally mainstreamed in regular English classes although the Lau Task Force Remedies (HEW/OCR, 1975) specify that all underachieving bilingual students are also Lau students and by law require programs that meet their educational needs. Failure to recognize their unique situation has relegated them either to being ignored or placed in compensatory education classes. These students may well possess the basic structures of both languages, yet lack proficiency skills which enable them to perform adequately in academic situations. The production of basic grammatical structures in a language does not guarantee native proficiency in that language. Often the student has been unable to develop communicative and cognitive skills adequately in either of the languages although demonstrating grammatical competence when assessed with one of the available instruments. This faulty development is the result of numerous social, political, and economic factors which impede the full development of either language by limiting the students to a small range of settings. For most language minority students, full development in English is impossible given the labor segmentation, segregated housing and low socio-economic standing of the minority groups. All these factors reduce contact with the English language and the English-speaking community. Development in the other language is also impeded by the lack of opportunities for developing and using the minority language outside the home and community. A barrio child thus may have little or no interaction with the English-speaking world, except as a passive listener of TV and radio. The racism and socio-economic stratification in this country in fact limit the children's experiences, and reduce the settings wherein cognitive and linguistic development occurs. The development of the primary language also suffers when the linguistic enrichment that is provided by interacting with friends, workers, attendants, salesmen, clerks, and the general public in one's native language is missing. Only at the border with Mexico or in tightly-knit barrios or ghettos, is this linguistic enrichment possible. Thus, far too many students who are being classified as fluent English speakers (FES) or balanced bilinguals because they are able to demonstrate acquisition of basic English structures are in fact limited in extension of language use. Communicative competence is therefore not automatically equivalent to grammatical competence. These bilingual students must be tested linguistically and cognitively in both languages. The language in which more linguistic and cognitive skills are evidenced is the language to be developed extensively to the point where the student has achieved the stage of abstract conceptualization--without, of course, eliminating the development of second language skills. This objective may appear to be obvious, but unfortunately in far too many classrooms throughout the nation this necessary linguistic and cognitive development is not taking place. Language assessment must therefore include both linguistic and cognitive development. Schools must provide appropriate programs of instruction for achieving such development.

As we have seen, social, cultural and economic factors are strongly connected to cognitive and linguistic development. It has been said that it is not the consciousness of people that determines their being but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness.

People's social being, their relations to society, determine to a large extent their thought and the content of language. Thus, just as the language of the Eskimo includes many terms for snow, so the language of a worker reflects the situation within which he functions. The language of a ghetto or barrio child will reflect the experiences of poverty and will differ from that of a middle class child who deals with the experiences which his economic status provides. Skills--both cognitive and linguistic--are acquired in real contexts. It is not the skills but the settings in which these skills are applied that differ, as Bruner and Cole have indicated.[26] The concepts of time, space, causality may develop as well in relation to cramped quarters in a tenement house as they may in relation to life in a mansion. A child, for example, may learn the concept of cause and effect in home activities that involve the mother working in the kitchen or the father fixing a piece of furniture or changing a car tire. A child may also learn this concept from older siblings or even peers. In some cases, however, the child may have little or no access to working parents, especially in single parent homes. Although he may be actively engaged in games with other children or in watching TV, he may not be acquiring those additional skills that would enable him to analyze, synthesize, or conceptualize. To acquire them, he requires special instruction.

Even within a poverty situation, given a great deal of interaction with adults, a child may develop excellent communicative skills at an early age. Modern linguists have found that language acquisition is not the result of stimulus-response activity and that it does not require reinforcement from parents through repetitions, etc. When we speak of communicative and cognitive development, we are not referring to the acquisition of the basic structures of a language. The language development that we are referring to involves using language in particular contexts to explain, analyze and conceptualize. In the absence of such learning opportunities at home, the school must provide the necessary experiences to enable students to acquire these skills. With its spoon-feeding methodology, the schools have concentrated on disseminating information about a vast number of subjects without enabling the student to develop the necessary skills for independent operations. Too many high school graduates are still unable to read an article critically or to organize their thoughts in some logical order to write a freshman composition.

The acquisition of linguistic and cognitive skills will not alone guarantee economic success. Yet the contradictions within the economic system of the country do allow us to introduce the concept of the school as a public institution capable of producing creative, analytical, thinking individuals who can go beyond the programmed objectives of sustaining and improving the system to the point of transforming it. The relation between language and society must be further analyzed in terms of the reality of language minorities in this country.

It is thus important to see linguistic skills and cognitive skills as inseparable entities. The development of language must be related to the formulation of concepts. Students must be allowed to use language to analyze their reality as well as themselves.

LANGUAGE AND SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

Although the cognitive and linguistic processes are inter-related, academic achievement in the schools is primarily related to income and not to language. As we have discussed previously, settings for the application of particular cognitive and linguistic skills may vary immensely from a minority cultural environment to a school environment. The settings are vastly different for economic reasons. A recent study by the University of California's Office of Outreach Service (see U.C. Clip Sheet, May 9, 1978) made to secure information on who qualifies for admission to state colleges and universities, found that minority students continue to be ineligible to attend college. The University of California study indicates that disparities in achievement levels between minorities and nonminorities correlate with economic factors. Family income was found to correlate directly with high school achievement. And although low-income white students were also low in college eligibility, their eligibility was comparatively higher than that of low-income minority students. Thus, race or ethnicity was also found to be an important variable.

Yet, while economic status appears to be the determining factor, language is also an intervening variable. These same low-income groups constitute the national origin population: non- or limited English-speaking and non-achieving bilingual students. The relation between race, economic status, language, and academic achievement becomes clearer if we look briefly at the economic system in this country. Within the United States, class status is determined by one's relations to the means of production. Thus, the owners and controllers of industry and the multinational corporations constitute the wealthy class. The middle class includes the owners of secondary factories and shops as well as professional and skilled workers. The unskilled and semi-skilled workers, as well as the underemployed and unemployed, fall into the lower class. This economic hierarchy has been analyzed in terms of labor segmentation and a dual labor market. Economists describe the primary labor market as one which includes those workers with stable positions in primary industry; in the secondary market are those with positions marked by instability in secondary industry.[27] Economists have found that minority groups invariably fall into the secondary labor market where wages are low, and thus into the lower socioeconomic class.

This economic situation determines to a large extent the maintenance or loss of the native languages of incoming non-English-speaking, Third World immigrants. In most cases

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these people constitute the cheap labor force found in the services, farm work, and secondary factories where wages are low. If we look back through history, we find that Black, Chinese, Japanese, Puerto Rican and Mexican workers were originally sought and imported as cheap labor to work primarily in the fields, the railroads and the mines. Today, these people continue to work in the sweat shops, harvest the crops, wash the dishes and mop the floors of this country. It is not surprising that this economic situation, evident in the low-income housing of barrios and ghettos, in poor diets, and in high unemployment rates leads also to high drop-out rates for minority students. When we see that these national-origin families reside in areas of strong non-English-speaking minority concentration and fall primarily in-to the low-wage, blue collar, and service labor categories of employment, then we can point out a high correlation between labor segmentation, residential segregation, language variation and low educational attainment. So, although linguistic assimilation has traditionally been the rule among immigrants to the United States, the process has been retarded for those non-English-speaking groups who for social, racial, national-origin and economic reasons have been segregated from the American mainstream.

Language shifting is affected by numerous economic factors which determine the degree and type of language contact between the dominant English-speaking society and the subordinate language minority groups. Urbanization and industrialization, migration from rural areas, incorporation of minority groups into blue collar labor markets, contact with newly arrived immigrants, rate of immigration, nativity status, and residence along the border are all significant factors affecting the degree of contact with the English-speaking population. (See diagram page 41.) Given these numerous variables, the type of bilingualism in different areas will vary. In some cases, the non-English language is retained for several generations, especially in areas of segregated residence. In other cases, bilingualism lasts only for one or two generations, with the second and third generations shifting completely to English. Bilingualism may be stable or transitional.[28] Where it is stable, we can find the presence of supporting elements like primary language radio, TV, church services, newspapers, magazines, markets and stores, dance bands, services and institutions. It is important, then, to determine the degree and type of bilingualism in a community when planning for bilingual education.

No one living in this country, of course, is completely severed from the English language. Even the most segregated barrio or ghetto has English-speaking landlords, store owners and clerks, policemen, and service workers. In many cases, contact with middle-class English-speaking society is minimal or passive: that ~~is~~, there is no significant interaction beyond limited verbal exchanges. The media affects this population ideologically but not linguistically, for there is no active

INTERVENING VARIABLES IN LANGUAGE PLANNING

Determining Factors

Class System/
Labor Segmentation

Third World Immigrant Group

High
Middle
Lower Class

1. Low Wages
2. Low-income housing
3. Unstable employment
4. Racial/economic segregation

Varying Factors

-urbanization
-integration
-rate of immigration
-education
-mobility between land of origin and U.S.
-economic status before immigration

>

Language

-varying degree of L_1 maintenance
-varying degree of contact with L_2
-inaccessibility to "standard" language varieties
-development of linguistic-cognitive skills applicable to cultural settings

linguistic interaction with radio or TV. Segregation, on the other hand, allows for continued contact with minority group members and reinforces the group language or language varieties.

Life in a low income community is varied and complex, but the situations which arise here are not those reflected in the academic settings of public schools. Minority students acquire many skills in dealing with poverty, discrimination, and survival needs, but again these skills are not generally taken into consideration in curricula planning. In comparison with white, middle-class children, low-income minority students may be more street-wise and less naive. Yet there is no attempt made to transfer their skills into the classroom. It is the white middle-class child for whom the schools are planned who adjusts to the classroom routine, who fits in perfectly, and who sets the norm for achievement. As Bruner and Cole have indicated, the school must allow the student to transfer already-developed skills to new tasks and new settings.[29] Otherwise the student will have a difficult time expanding his performance.

The University of California study on minority admissions to colleges and universities found that educational opportunities are more mythical than real for low-income and minority students. Educational inequality is a reality in this economic system where socio-political institutions like schools are set up to reinforce the existing social and economic structure. As has been said many times, schools are set up to provide industry with a skilled and unskilled labor pool.

The economic system and all its institutions are, of course, full of contradictions paving the way for social transformation. Despite its inherent inequalities, the educational system can be used for introducing change, and for allowing the development of cognitive and linguistic skills which will enable students to become thinkers, capable of working to transform society. A responsible school must be aware of the economic, cultural and linguistic status of its students and, through its assessment of the students' total reality, plan for an adequate curriculum that meets their educational needs.

LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT

All students come to school with a communicative system which may consist of various codes and subcodes. An adequate language assessment process must take into consideration the number of codes the student uses, his or her proficiency in each code, the frequency of use of the codes, and the domains in which these codes occur. Because the terminology used in language assessment today varies widely from document to document, it is important that we first define the terms which are currently in use in language assessment. The following appear in one or another legislative or governmental form:

- Home Language
- Primary Language
- Language Proficiency
- Proficient
- Language Fluency
- Language Ability
- Language Function
- Dominant Language
- Frequency of Language Use
- NES
- LES
- Balanced Bilingual
- English Dominant
- Spanish Dominant
- FES

In our discussion we will define the most important of these terms and attempt to establish the principal classifications necessary for language assessment.

Bilingual

The first important step in language assessment is determining whether a student is monolingual or bilingual. Students who possess skills in any degree in more than one language can be described as bilingual. Those students with only receptive (listening comprehension) skills in a language also possess a degree of bilingualism. A measure of the bilingual skill is a measure of proficiency.

Proficiency

Proficiency may be defined in terms of an individual's linguistic and socio-linguistic competence and performance: that is, the degree of acquisition of particular structures and rules within the phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical and semantic components, and the demonstration of this competence within particular settings. The speaker's internalized grammar is said to constitute the deep structure of the grammar or the speaker's competence and is distinguished from performance: that is, speech production. Since proficiency can be quantified in terms of rule acquisition, it can be expressed in terms of a linguistic continuum. Thus, the acquisition of only a few rules of the grammar of language X would constitute minimal proficiency. A limited X-language speaker has a minimal proficiency in a language. A fluent speaker has a high proficiency in the language; that is, he or she has acquired all the structures, has a broad range of forms, expressions and lexical items, and can use the language in diverse contexts. A fluent speaker is often described as proficient. Proficiency, however, can be measured in terms of four modalities: Listening Comprehension, Speaking, Reading, and Writing. An illiterate person may be highly proficient in oral and listening skills but lack literacy. A receptive bilingual, on the other hand, has developed only listening comprehension skills but has no oral or written production in the language. The proficiency of a student must, of course, be measured in relation to that of his peers of grade and age level. A student may also demonstrate grammatical competence but be limited in terms of language use, for his or her proficiency may not be that of an adult. Proficiency also encompasses the ability to use the language in a variety of contexts as well as the four basic skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. In the chart below we establish a proficiency scale adapted from the FSI language ratings. Here we can see that a person with the proficiency of an educated native speaker (FSI-5) is not only grammatically proficient but also socio-linguistically competent.

Proficiency Scale:

5 - Fluent, educated native speaker

4 - Native or near native ability; uses all grammatical structures well but communicative competence is not that of an educated native speaker (i.e., cannot perform in all domains equally well)

3 - Average proficiency; communicates well but lacks fluency, vocabulary and some complex structures; limited in terms of language use

2 - Limited proficiency; uses most basic structures, can carry on a simple conversation; lacks more complex structures and forms; very limited in terms of language use

1 - Extremely limited proficiency; knows only the most elementary structures and vocabulary; language use limited to information questions and answers

The four linguistic skills modalities can be assessed in terms of this FSI rating scale:

	Listening Comprehension	Speaking	Reading	Writing
FSI - 5				
FSI - 4				
FSI - 3				
FSI - 2				
FSI - 1				

*Foreign Service Instrument

Dominance

Dominance implies the comparison of development levels between two languages. Development can be measured in terms of grammatical and communicative competence: that is, in terms of the number of grammatical and socio-linguistic rules acquired in the two different languages. A student with a higher grammatical and socio-linguistic competence in Spanish than in English, for example, can be said to be dominant in Spanish.

In reality, however, one may be dominant in one language for particular activities, situations, or topics. One may be dominant in English in an academic situation: that is, be possessed of the necessary grammar rules, vocabulary, and cognitive development to discuss academic matters. In another situation--the home, for example--one may have the necessary grammar rules, expressions, vocabulary and cognitive skills to function in Spanish. Dominance must be studied in terms of language use, language frequency, and domains (the settings where this language choice and use takes place).

Domains

Sociolinguists have found that all people have a linguistic repertoire which includes a number of language varieties used in different contexts and with different functions. The different varieties, utilized in the various contexts, differ in terms of grammar rules. These rule differences may be phonological, syntactic, morphological, lexical or semantic. For bilingual or multilingual individuals, different domains may call not only for different varieties but for different languages. Within a given language minority community we may find the following domains:

Social Domains

- Home
- Neighborhood
- School
- Work
- Church
- Government
- Media
- Recreation

Each of these domains may call for a particular language or language variety. A Chicano student, for example, may use Spanish at home and English at school. But linguistic shifts are not always so clearly made; oftentimes a student or family will use two languages within the same domain. Family members may, in fact, code-shift from one language to the other within the same discourse. To discuss dominance in these cases we would have to speak in terms of frequency of use; i.e., what percentage in time is devoted to which language. The frequency of use within particular domains in the course of a day, together with grammatical competence assessment, could be used to determine language dominance. Dominance can thus be defined in terms of where (domain) a language is used, how (grammatical competence) it is used, how often (frequency of use) it is used, and for how long (duration of linguistic activity) it is used. The term language ability, like proficiency, refers not only to a degree of grammatical competence but also to a person's ability to function within various domains in that language (socio-linguistic or communicative competence).

Returning to the proficiency rating scale, we can then discuss dominance in L_1 or L_2 in terms of a given rating within particular domains:

Proficiency Rating

	Domain X	Domain Y	Domain W
L_1			
L_2			

Let us assume that students fall under one of three proficiency ratings which we can describe as follows:

Proficiency Rating: 4 - Native/Fluent
3 - Average
2 - Limited

A Chicano student from a highly segregated area could reflect the following proficiency picture:

Proficiency Rating

	Home Domain	Neighborhood Domain	School Domain
Spanish	4	4	
English		3	3

We are assuming here that English is not used in the home, but that code-shifting is frequent in the neighborhood. The chart for a recently arrived immigrant would differ from that of a third or fourth generation Chicano. The Chicano in our diagram is dominant in Spanish in two domains but dominant in English at school. Evidently, the linguistic and cognitive skills that he brings from home are not being used as a basis for further development. This negligence leads to an eventual loss of skills and of the opportunity to retain this student in school.

Home Language

This term as currently used refers to the language of a particular domain, the home. In the case of monolingual families or families who use only one language in this domain, the term is perfectly clear. In too many cases, more than one language is used at home. Often the student develops a receptive competence in the home language but does not in fact speak the language. Thus, the home language could be the language spoken by adults or older siblings in the family but not by the student himself. Home language must not be confused with mother tongue (first language acquired) or primary language (language most frequently used).

Language Assessment Implications

What we are proposing is the assessment of language in terms of GRAMMATICAL SKILLS, COGNITIVE SKILLS, and SOCIOLINGUISTIC SKILLS. This assessment will allow us to determine a student's ability to communicate and conceptualize in his or her own language or language varieties, about topics and situations natural to his or her experiential domains. Once these skills are determined, the task of the school will be to increase students' repertoires so that they may express themselves in more than one variety or language when it is appropriate to do so. Cognitive skills in computation, abstraction, or synthesis must also be assessed in relation to academic, home, or socio-cultural settings. All of these skills must be assessed in both languages so that we may determine students' language proficiency and enable them to develop their primary language to the stage of abstract conceptualization. Consider the following suggested plan:

Assessment of Cognitive Skills in Terms of the Student's Socio-Cultural Settings

Cognitive Skills:	Computation	Abstraction	Synthesis
Achievement in L_1			
Achievement in L_2			

A combination of these assessments (proficiency in terms of domains and proficiency in terms of cognitive skills) will allow educators to plan a significant curriculum for the development of the student's academic skills.

Interpreting the Data for Program Implications

Before we begin to discuss the interpretation of data generated by language assessment procedures, it would be wise to differentiate between implications and applications. Probably most educators are concerned with the application of this data, for they are interested in complying with state legislation that requires the assessment of the English language proficiency of language minority students. Schools may also want to demonstrate that these students belong in bilingual programs, or to back up contentions that these students should be mainstreamed. A major concern then is the classification of students. The question is whether, on the basis of these tests, we can go beyond compliance to the establishment of programs that meet the needs of the non-achieving students. Unfortunately, state-approved tests may in the end serve only to classify the limited-English students and nothing more.

Testing should be closely related to instruction. Given the existing instruments, there are some general implications that we need to consider.

The first implication for instruction can be found in the language components to be tested. Some tests, for example, assess only syntax while others assess syntax, phonology and vocabulary. Some tests assess only oral production without including reading and writing for grades 4-12. The focus of particular exams thus gives a good indication of what components are considered to be significant by the test creator and consequently by the test user. Most of these instruments assume that the objective of language assessment is the

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determination of a student's grammatical competence. This particular design has led to educational concern for the teaching of particular morphological and syntactic structures. As we have seen, this leads to teaching language in a vacuum and separated from basic curricular content areas. Teachers become more concerned with being able to check off particular grammatical items covered on a given linguistic skills continuum than with language content or language use. Because testing is seen as one way of ensuring that specific school curricula meet state standards, it is absolutely necessary that these language instruments encompass the various aspects of the language process which can serve as the basis for improved teaching objectives. While it may be necessary to use particular tests if none other are available, let us not assume that the components assessed are all we have to teach in the classroom. Let us not assume that proficiency is limited to oral production. Let us not assume that grammar alone gives a good indication of a student's competence to use the language.

The type of format used in many instruments can also lead to misconceptions. Can we assume, for example, that pictures are the best way to elicit language? Should we limit assessment to questions that call for description of what is happening in a picture? Shouldn't we be eliciting language so that the student is allowed to reflect on his or her experiences? Shouldn't we be allowing the students to express themselves through structures that demonstrate the ability to classify, to make inferences about cause and effect, and to solve problems? Sometimes the pictures in tests are culturally biased or inappropriate and may depict scenes that insult the students' intelligence. We would like to question the use of pictures as the best way to elicit language. A natural language situation in which the student may talk about something he or she is interested in may be harder to score but in the end will provide more information about students' proficiency than a response that describes a picture scene.

The use of pictures is tied to the type of requests or questions used in these instruments. Some instruments require identifying a picture with an utterance. Some ask for a description. In either case the student is being limited to one function: description. The use of language involves more than putting a string of words together. Language has many uses in society and the learning of language functions is related to the acquisition of particular skills in cognitive development, for linguistic and cognitive development go together. It should be the objective of the school to assess not only the acquisition of particular grammatical forms in the second language but the development of language and cognitive skills in the primary language as well. It is important, therefore, that assessment instruments assess whether the student can communicate effectively in different situations to perform different actions. Language has many functions.

An assessment instrument that focuses on several functions will undoubtedly stimulate the teaching of different functions in the classroom as well.

M.A.K. Halliday has outlined seven functions of language which children acquire through their experiences.[30] Some of these functions are acquired naturally through maturational processes; some require planned experience and training, and it is here that the educator comes in. Teachers must be aware of the functions which students have already acquired, so that they may build on them, as well as of the functions which the student does not yet have. Halliday's functions include the following:

a) Instrumental--	the use of language as a means of getting things done for the satisfaction of personal material needs: serving the "I want" function
b) Regulatory--	the use of language as a means of regulating the behavior of others, serving the function of "Do as I tell you"
c) Interactional--	the use of language for maintaining and mediating one's relationships with others: serving the "me and him" or "Me and Mummy" function
d) Personal--	this function enables the child to express his own individuality: serving the "Here I come" function
e) Heuristic--	the use of language as a means of finding out, questioning: serving the function: "Tell me why"

f) Imaginative-- this use of language enables the child to project himself into an environment of his own making, to create a world of make-believe: serving the "Let's pretend" function

g) Representational-- the use of language as a means of conveying information and expressing propositions: serving the function of "I've got something to tell you."[31]

The heuristic and personal functions described by Halliday require special training and instructions. Assessment instruments should recognize these functions if we are to determine the need for particular instruction.

Sociolinguists studying the functions of language and the type of speech events found in discourse have itemized various speech acts possible in verbal interaction, including the functions described by Halliday. In addition, they include the following: assertions, expressions of belief, uncertainty, exasperation, reinforcement, evaluation, interpretation, denial, agreement, contradiction, requests for action, requests for information, requests for confirmation, inferences, challenges, questions, admissions, comparisons. Not many of these functions are assessed by existing instruments. If in the classroom we need to give the student the opportunity to use language to represent his/her ideas; to request information; to protest; to compare and evaluate; to classify and generalize and analyze; and to deal with the world, then teaching strategies as well as assessment techniques must be consistent with this objective. In too many classes the teacher talks in paragraphs while the students answer in monosyllables. In too many classes only the teachers ask questions. Are we to perpetuate these limiting classroom strategies in language assessment? Should the testor be the only one to ask questions? Should the student be asked questions that require no further skills than description? Can't the questions allow the students to indicate their levels of operational thinking? Can't we include items that allow us to assess whether the students are learning to function creatively in the language to solve problems?

Since language and thought are so closely related, language assessment must expand its objectives beyond the simplistic classification of students in terms of few structures.

We need to question the underlying assumption of existing assessment instruments that only the standard language variety can give us an idea of a student's proficiency in a language. The teacher must know the language functions and the language varieties that prevail in a community in order to understand what is occuring in the assessment process itself. In Spanish, for example, a non-standard or non-systemic use of a verb form may nevertheless serve a particular function in the community; within that context, use of that particular form during assessment will be appropriate, for it will reflect adult speech in that particular community. This type of assessment enables the teacher to determine the additional varieties which must be introduced in the classroom in order to produce students who are able to shift from one variety to another as appropriate.

The development of language skills is undoubtedly the development of cognitive skills. This means that attention must also be given to language in the content subject areas. We suggest that language and subject matter teachers meet to prepare lesson plans that allow students to use language meaningfully in science, social science, math, physical education, and the other content areas. A student learning particular scientific and social laws should be allowed to verbalize the concepts under discussion. We must end the teacher-student dichotomy where the teacher is the only one allowed to verbalize in the classroom. Moreover, we will be able to determine the acquisition of particular skills and concepts only if we provide the student with the opportunity to verbalize extensively in the classroom. We do not support the exiting of students from bilingual programs. All students have the right to develop their verbal and cognitive skills in their primary language, and this right does not exclude the acquisition of a second language. Only by developing sufficient verbal and cognitive skills in the primary language will students be able to achieve academically and develop cognitively and linguistically to their fullest potential, as is the right of any student in this country.

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PART TWO

ASSESSMENT/DIAGNOSTIC PRACTICE

by

Harriett Romo

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ASSESSMENT/DIAGNOSTIC PRACTICE by Harriett Romo

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PURPOSES OF LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT

School districts assess national origin minority students' language for two principal reasons: to identify students for whom the public schools must provide language-related educational programs, and to provide diagnostic information so that productive educational programs may be prescribed.

In the preceding section, Dr. Sanchez has shown the important connection between language and the cognitive processes. It has been made clear that for diagnostic and prescriptive purposes language assessment must identify and measure those language skills that affect language for communication. In order to develop and prescribe effective educational programs, educators must be aware of the Lau students' language strengths and needs in various cultural and social situations as well as the students' ability to use language, to communicate, and to function in the classroom.

Regretfully, language assessment for student identification has become a political and economic issue which has overshadowed language assessment for effective diagnosis of Lau students' educational needs. Questions of school district compliance or non-compliance with federal and state requirements hinge on questions of student identification. Student identification has also become an issue for both opponents and proponents of increased service to Lau students. Proponents argue for more comprehensive identification processes, while opponents seek to minimize the needs of students who cannot benefit from their present educational programs due to language factors. Student identification in this way often becomes a political issue reflecting divided opinion within a school district's community.

Furthermore, student identification has economic implications that heighten the effects of political pressures. School districts face the possible loss of federal funds if they fail to identify Lau students adequately. Special funds are available to meet the educational needs of identified Lau students; educational administrators are encouraged to seek such funds. Many school boards, however, are reluctant to revise their traditional budget priorities. Faced with these complex and often contradictory political and economic pressures, some school districts are tempted to play both sides at once. That is, they seek to identify large numbers of Lau students in order to generate funds, then spend as little as possible on the bilingual or structurally different programs those funds are meant to support. Apparently, in such cases, large numbers of Lau students simply disappear.

Such factors as those discussed have affected the development of language assessment instruments and procedures.

With the emphasis in language assessment so strongly placed on student identification, the development of instruments and processes that can provide information adequate for educational program prescription has lagged behind.

State and federal agencies are understandably concerned with developing standardized procedures for Lau student identification. In California, the State Department of Education recommends several commercially available instruments for determining language proficiency.[1] Although educational experts, linguists and the instrument developers themselves are aware of weaknesses and limitations in all of the recommended instruments, the State Department maintains that these are the best available given the state-of-the-art. This implicit recognition that research and knowledge about bilingualism and language acquisition are still limited lends weight to the argument that those responsible for choosing language assessment instruments and processes must do so critically. This is especially true if language assessment is to provide the much needed information for improving the education of Lau students. All should keep in mind that both state and federal laws are clear: not only must Lau students be identified, their educational needs must be met. Based on the principles discussed in the first section of this manual, and keeping in mind the importance of language skills for communication, we will discuss a number of important factors that affect language assessment results and will suggest criteria for evaluating language assessment instruments and procedures.

In keeping with the stated concern that language assessment be useful in the education of Lau students, we will also address questions of staff development, particularly of teachers, both for language assessment and language-related education. Given the still-developmental nature of language assessment, language acquisition, and bilingual education theories, it would be naive to expect school-site professionals to carry out effective assessment and education programs without adequate development of their own skills in these areas.

PLANNING FOR LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT

A school district language assessment process should be preceded by a comprehensive community assessment as discussed earlier by Dr. Sanchez (see pages 10-18; see also Issues in Bilingual Programming...).[2] This will provide necessary information about the characteristics of students whose language proficiencies and cognitive development levels are to be assessed. As has been shown, knowledge of Lau students' socio-historic-economic characteristics is necessary both to design proper testing procedures and setting, and to correctly interpret testing results.

Those charged with evaluating and selecting language assessment instruments and procedures should, of course, be knowledgeable about language testing and language instruction. They should also know the target students' community and the formal policies and requirements which must be met. Ideally, an assessment committee which includes a language assessment specialist, an administrator, a teacher, a bilingual aide, a parent and (if possible) a student will set the assessment goals, design the assessment process, and select the language assessment instruments. Each role group represented on the committee will have knowledge and concerns that are pertinent; however, some inservice training in language assessment matters will probably be needed so that all members can contribute effectively to the committee's work.

Planning for language assessment and establishing clear assessment objectives is important. Time spent in careful planning can avoid wasted time, money and effort and will assure that the testing processes produce useful information. Also, it can help to avoid duplication and provide the appropriate data for both identification and instructional purposes. According to needs assessment expert, R.T. Coffing, "An item of information can be said to have utility if it is used by an information user in decision making."[3] Careful planning can avoid the collection of information that is inaccurate--and when information used for educational prescription or decision making is inaccurate it is worse than useless. It is damaging to students.

Goal Setting for Language Assessment

We have already seen that language assessment data can usefully be classed as either categorical or diagnostic. Categorical data includes that needed for reporting to OCR, the state census, applications for funds, etc. Categorical data is usually reported in gross numbers and frequently developing the information includes normative comparisons of skills or tasks. For Lau students, OCR/TFR guidelines require identification in one of five categories:

A--Non-English speaking

B--Limited English speaking

C--Bilingual: English and other than English

D--Primarily English: some other than English

E--Monolingual English speaking

Diagnostic data is that required for instructional program design, student placement, curriculum development, and instructional grouping. Developing diagnostic information requires individual assessment of specific student strengths and weaknesses. An effective diagnostic assessment will provide the data needed to create a language profile for each Lau student. This individual student profile should include the following (see also Part One of this manual):

-- Home, street, & school languages identified (Specify method of determination)

-- Proficiency in home (Specify method of determination)
  language(s)
  street language
  school language

-- Proficiency in English (Specify method of determination)

-- Cognitive skills identified in -- language
  (specify method)

-- School achievement assessed in -- language
  (specify method of determination)
  Math
  Reading/Writing
  Verbal Skills

-- Sociocultural-economic characteristics (including previous school experience, country of origin/experience in U.S. schools)

-- OCR Language Determination (A-E)

-- Prescribed Program

-- Follow-up evaluation--Date--

Planners must decide what data is needed for both categorical and diagnostic needs in order to select appropriate assessment procedures. Goal setting will be affected by school and community policies. For example, maintenance bilingual programs must particularly have information about students' home language proficiencies and language repertoires in order to develop home language and English skills. Transition programs must develop on-going information about developing language and cognitive skills to measure student readiness for transition into English instruction. In either case, assessment goals should include the development of information about language proficiencies in both native and English languages, and various socio-cultural contexts.

Other factors that goal setting must take into account are:

-- Age and grade level range to be tested;

-- Testing purposes (diagnostic, descriptive, proficiency, achievement, potential ability, etc.);

-- Skills sampled (pronunciation, comprehension, syntax, reading and writing, cognition, ability to use language effectively, etc.);

-- Languages to be assessed.

Only after assessment goals and objectives have been clearly defined can planners evaluate and select instruments and processes that will yield the desired data. For evaluation and selection, planners must know what to look for as well as what to look out for. In the following pages we will discuss some basic elements of language assessment practice, ending with some specific criteria recommended for evaluating assessment instruments.

COMMON LANGUAGE TESTING APPROACHES

There is no single, universally agreed upon approach to language testing on which all assessment instruments are based. Some understanding of the most common approaches is useful in selecting an instrument or process to meet particular language assessment goals. Five of the most common approaches are briefly discussed below and the relative strengths and weaknesses of each are noted. The five are:

1. Discrete point testing
2. Integrated testing
3. Direct rating
4. Self rating
5. Observation

Discrete point tests select and measure a discrete point of information that is held to be representative of broad and complex knowledge. For example, counting the number of vocabulary items a student can identify in either of two languages may be held to reveal language dominance. Discrete point testing is probably the most commonly used approach to language assessment. Such tests are easy to administer and to score, and cross-test comparisons are simply made. Their validity, however, depends on the correctness of the assumption that

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the specific linguistic ability tested does in fact represent the student's whole language functioning. In the example used above, the vocabulary test does not measure the student's comparative cognitive skills in the two languages; the student's language strengths in various domains; or even the student's acquisition of grammatical rules. In short, discrete point tests are questionable measures of ability to use a language.

Integrated tests attempt a more global assessment than do discrete point tests by testing a range of linguistic abilities. For example, some combine speaking and listening components to test phonology, syntax, and vocabulary. Integrated tests are more complex and increase the problems of administering, scoring, and interpreting them. They may still be questionable measures of students' communicative ability. This approach does, however, provide a broader base of information on which to judge grammatical competence.

Direct rating approaches to language testing seek to set up a realistic context for language use in which the full range of language skills can be assessed. Efforts are made to ensure as natural a situation as possible. An example of the direct rating approach is the Foreign Service Institute interview assessment of language proficiency.

The techniques used for assessing language proficiency by direct rating are time consuming and require specialized training. The testing procedures are, however, more closely related to actual language use for communication than the discrete point or the integrated test approaches. Assessment results will more reliably reflect language proficiency in real situations, such as a classroom.

Self-rating of language abilities is widely used when categorical information is required, as for a census. Self-rating tests--really, questionnaires--are easy to administer and to score in controlled situations, though the problem of administering them grows with the population being surveyed. While they can--and do--provide useful first-level information about language usage, too many factors can intervene to allow assessors to put much faith in their accuracy. Respondants too often give what they perceive as a preferred or an expected answer to questions about their language skills or preferences, or they may interpret the question in a way that differs from the intent of test maker. This problem is even more acute when negative attitudes toward a particular language, or toward a group with which a language is identified, are present. Self-rating assessment instruments are not reliable enough to serve adequately for educational diagnosis.

Direct observation approaches to language assessment do away with the artificial--and often inhibiting--necessity for a controlled testing situation. Assessors observe language usage in informal, day to day situations, in natural contexts. This approach is particularly useful in determining a student's language choice or preference in different situations. A skilled observer may also learn something about the range of a student's repertoire of language skills for different situations and may be able to gain important information about the speaker's cognitive development. But the breadth of evaluation is necessarily controlled by what the student does during the period of observation. The lack of controls means that the evaluation may only be partial. Much, too, depends on the skill and sensitivity of the observer. Finally, this approach is not necessarily unbiased at all; great care needs to be taken to specify which language behaviors will be judged and how they will be rated.

Each of the approaches discussed can yield valuable information if properly and sensitively administered and interpreted. But in varying degrees each approach, trying to isolate language in order to test it, separates it from cognition, meaning and classroom experience. Each approach--except that of direct observation--depends on a formal or closely controlled testing situation. In the classroom, however, students must sort out and respond to verbal messages amid the competing distractions of a noisy surrounding. Formal testing approaches do not permit assessment of a student's ability--or lack of ability--in this area. Some students' intelligence and ability to function on minimal information enables them to conceal, in effect, a limited mastery of the language used in the classroom. This limited language ability will, of course, reduce the students' ability to achieve academically. Ironically, if a teacher perceives this student as linguistically more proficient in the classroom language than is the fact, failure to achieve academically will probably be blamed on a lack of intelligence or an absence of motivation. The same mis-assessment of a student's classroom language proficiency may occur when a student is passive: i.e., when a student does what is expected simply by following cues from peers or from the activity, without understanding the language at all. If a teacher thinks a student is more proficient in the classroom language than he really is, the teacher may plan lessons that do not tap a language context familiar to the student. The student will then fail to respond or will respond incorrectly even though the knowledge and cognitive ability are actually present.

The direct observation approach does assess language in actual-use contexts, and it can provide very important information about language preference and proficiency, especially in language varieties not used (perhaps not even tolerated) in the classroom. Still, this approach rarely answers the issues raised above. Unless observation includes classroom settings and consciously seeks to analyze actual language use in context, direct observation will not adequately reveal a students' ability to function in a classroom.

Language assessment planners should recognize the limitations and strengths of these various approaches and seek the most effective combination to obtain a comprehensive understanding of each student's language performance and instructional needs. The instruments and processes available for implementing an assessment approach must, of course, be evaluated. If an adequate instrument is not available to implement a preferred approach, or if district resources are more compatible with one process than another, these factors will necessarily affect language assessment choices.

Cognitive Assessment

Ideally, no doubt, an adequate understanding of the inseparable connection between linguistic proficiencies and cognitive abilities would permit the interpretation of a single assessment process in trustworthy measures of language and cognition. At this point, however, the problem assessors must most often deal with is of distinguishing just what an assessment instrument is measuring. That is, as we have discussed already, instruments that purport to measure language may well, in fact, be measuring particular knowledge. In the same way, attempts to measure cognition may fail in their intent because actually something else is being tested. Several serious problems of conception and interpretation appear.

-- There exists a too-widely-spread assumption that particular kinds of tests or experimental situations diagnose capabilities to carry out cognitive processes.

-- What are really capabilities to carry out cognitive processes are treated as entities: properties of the person which are possessed or not possessed independent of the problem situation. These properties are, also, held to be independent of each other.

-- Poor performance on a particular test is believed to reflect a deficiency or a lack of "the" process capability that the test purports to measure.

-- Inferences made about the process capabilities which a person has or uses do not take into account the interrelationships between cognition, language and cultural experiences. Testing for any one of these must be done with a clear consciousness of its interdependence with the others.

-- Language and cognition abilities are assumed to be equivalent to school achievement. Many factors other than linguistic ability or cognitive development greatly influence school achievement.

Those selecting instruments for assessing cognitive development should consider their needs carefully in the light of the foregoing. Also, the concerns discussed throughout this manual relative to language testing specially can also be considered as applicable to cognitive assessment.

There is clearly work yet to be done to arrive at satisfactory linguistic/cognitive assessment. Effective communication requires a variety of related cognitive processes. Poor communication performance may be due to the lack of, or the failure to use, any one process ability. As research into the relationships between language and cognition--including studies into the effects of bilingualism on cognitive ability --continues, our hopes for better instruments to define and measure linguistic and cognitive development are strengthened. Ed De Avila for example, has done pioneer work in investigating the correlation between language and cognition testing.[4] One study has sought the correlation between the LAS language assessment process and cognitive development as measured by achievement tests. While the results of the study are promising, a lack of uniformity of the achievement tests, and questions as to precisely what those achievement tests measured, undermine the reliability of conclusions that might be drawn from the study. Currently, De Avila is working to develop cognitive assessment measures based on Piagetian tasks; this promises a more reliable comparison of language and cognitive development levels. De Avila is also developing criteria for the interpretation of assessment results that recognize language and cognition as inseparable processes in communication.

Research into the language-cognitive relationship cannot fail to have important implications for bilingual education. Studies done by De Avila in California, by Peal and Lambert in Canada and by Ressler in Texas increasingly suggest that bilingual persons have more highly developed problem solving skills, superior concept formation capabilities and a more diversified set of mental abilities than do monolingual persons.[5] Yet, many Lau students able to apply complex linguistic and cognitive skills in other-than-school social domains fail to do so for formal school and examination tasks. Better assessment processes, social in content and able to tap familiar experience, seem, therefore, needed in order to identify the skills these students do possess. A too-present tendency of assessment processes now used is to inhibit, rather than elicit, Lau student demonstration of linguistic and cognitive skills already developed.

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LOCAL FACTORS IN LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT

While most developers of language assessment instruments seek to make them as broadly applicable as possible, those planning a school or district-wide assessment must do so within an actual, living school community where "average conditions" may not mean much. There are a number of local factors that must be considered in planning for a language assessment that will yield information for educational program prescription. These include local school and community policies and attitudes toward bilingual education, of course: also, available resources of time, funds, and materials; the characteristics of the students who will be tested; and the competencies of those who will carry out the assessment.

Resources

Language assessment approaches vary as to the resources required for their implementation. Direct costs vary for administering, scoring, interpreting and reporting language assessment instruments. The availability of such other resources as competent assessors will also affect the choice of assessment approaches. Planners must carefully consider their available resources and, when necessary, plan to provide those that are needed but lacking: e.g., inservice training to those who will administer tests. Final decisions in selecting language assessment approaches must, of course, be made with the primary consideration of student needs and characteristics. While short term procedures might be dependent upon available resources, planning can assure that adequate training and assessment are incorporated into district on-going policies and practice.

Student Characteristics

It has been emphasized that language is developmental and closely associated with cognition. While a four-year-old will have mastered the basic structures of his/her native language (and perhaps other languages as well) he/she will not have the competence or the vocabulary of a ten-year-old. The development levels of students whose language proficiency is to be assessed must be known and taken into account. This seems obvious; but seldom do assessment procedures or performance standards allow for these developmental factors. Planners must also assume a responsibility relative to this question in evaluating the test instruments themselves. Some tests that claim to be valid over a wide range of grade levels do not take into consideration that the elicitation of certain grammatical or syntactical structures may not be appropriate below certain maturation levels.

Especially at the secondary school level, student socio-historical data are needed to complement language assessment data. Knowledge of previous schools attended, cognitive development, rural or urban background, strong or weak educational background--all are important to a comprehensive understanding of students' strengths and needs. A non-English speaking student with a good achievement record in a non-U.S. school does not belong in an ESL class geared for students with little or no cognitive development. Nor does a bilingual student who cannot read or write belong in a class that requires reading and writing skills as prerequisites for success.

Experience has shown that schools can be incredibly ignorant of the students whose language abilities they are assessing. Too many reports of Native American children placed in Spanish language programs, of Japanese children placed in Chinese language programs, and of speakers of one Filipino dialect struggling to learn in classes taught in a different dialect suggest that for too many educators the only question is "Can they speak English?" If language assessment is to be a tool for educational prescription it must provide information about what a student can do as well as what the student cannot do. And this information must add to all else that can be known about a student's strengths and needs.

Knowledge of the students' socio-cultural characteristics is necessary if educators' selection of assessment instruments is to avoid those that are socially or culturally discriminitory. Attempts to develop culture-free tests (tests of items free of cultural influence) have been described as "sheer nonsense" by Mercer and other researchers in the field of assessment.[6] All learning takes place in socio-cultural settings; all tests measure learned behavior. The possible alternatives--culture fair tests; culture specific tests for the cultural group being tested; and adaptation of present tests for cross-cultural applications--all require extensive knowledge of the students' cultural characteristics. Not only is this knowledge necessary for the development of instruments but also for the review and selection of such instruments.

Culture fair tests--or, more accurately, attempts to develop them--are based on the assumption that certain tasks or problems are common to all cultures and that a test can be developed using only common-culture items. However, different cultural groups continue to score differently on the tests developed so far. In addition, the psycho-situational context of the testing situation presents numerous complexities in communication that make it difficult to interpret performance cross-culturally. Attempts to do so necessarily depend on a thorough understanding of the students' own culture. Promising research is being done, such as that of De Avila based on the developmental stages described by Piaget, but culture fair tests at this point in time represent more an intention than a reality.

A culture specific test could show clearly the skills of the group for which it is designed, but there are tremendous problems involved in developing tests specifically tailored to each cultural group whose language proficiency will be assessed. Obviously, a great deal must be known about students' cultures to develop or to select culture specific tests.

Adaptation of existing tests is frequently attempted for assessing language proficiencies of Lau students. This approach is fraught with difficulties and requires extensive knowledge of the students' cultural and linguistic characteristics, which may vary considerably from what is considered typical of the general population. They may vary even more from those of the actual group used to norm or validate the test to be adapted. Nor can one assume that any language test which works with one child or group can be successfully adapted to work with another group, since each child varies in interpretive abilities at different stages of development.

In adapting, or in selecting an instrument that has been adapted, it is crucial that the language of the test be familiar and clear to those who will take the test. When adaptation involves the translation of an instrument into another language, the question of language variety used by Lau students is an important one. Too, a direct translation of vocabulary may result in terms that are not as commonly used or do not have the same significance in the non-English language. In this case a skill, activity or vocabulary item may pose a greater or lesser degree of difficulty than was intended in the original test. Clearly, decisions about translated tests should be based on a thorough understanding of the language actually used by the students who will be tested and a careful analysis of the translation.

If the whole of adaptation consists of translating an instrument from English, the test will remain culture-bound no matter how good the translation. For such a test to be at all valid with Lau students, it would have to be newly normed with a group compatible with the Lau students' characteristics.

Competencies of Language Assessors

Accurate language assessment depends heavily on the skill, knowledge and sensitivity of the assessors. This is especially true because of the weaknesses of available assessment instruments. Assessment by direct observation or direct rating techniques (see page 76) require highly specialized skills. Whatever the approach used, however, a skilled and caring assessor can, in the process of administering even a formal test, note and elicit much information about a student's language performance which otherwise will escape the mechanism of the test itself. The assessor can also learn much about the students' ability to function in various language domains even though the test addresses only one. The student's ability to use whatever language skills he or she has to solve communication problems can also be judged by a skilled assessor. As has been pointed out, this ability may bear directly on the student's ability to function in the classroom.

When assessors lack the necessary skills, serious mistakes in assessment will occur. One who is administering a test without sensitivity to the student's culture or without adequate skills in the student's language may give misleading cues as to the kind of response expected or as to the actual content of a question. Such failures of the assessor all too often are paid for by the student who is marked "incorrect".

Some assessment processes call for interpretation of transcriptions of oral exchanges between assessor and student. When the person transcribing does not have adequate language skills, the transcription is likely to be incorrect. The person interpreting the result will then be judging the student on the basis of things the student did not say. An unskilled interpreter of transcribed speech, working with speech typed on paper, will often judge it as if written and not oral language use had been elicited from the student.

The problems created by assessors using differing criteria for interpreting and scoring language assessment results seem obvious. Nevertheless, experience shows that this is a common problem in school district assessment.

Issues of language assessment competencies will be discussed more fully elsewhere, especially in the section dealing with Staff Development. Those planning for language assessment cannot give too much consideration to this factor. With adequate skills and concern on the part of assessors, even a weak instrument can be made to yield useful information. Without adequate skills and genuine concern, even the best of instruments or approaches will suffer. So will the children.

SOME CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT INSTRUMENTS

Language assessment instruments are first screened according to their stated purpose and for the kind of information each is designed to yield. Those whose stated purpose match the assessment planners' goals can then be evaluated. Keep in mind that not all tests measure in practice what the test manual claims. The first concern, then, is to select for evaluation those tests whose actual functions are compatible with the assessment goals. The instruments can then be evaluated in terms of the following characteristics:

Format

1. Is it suitable for the age, maturation level of your students?
2. Are photos and drawings interesting and culturally relevant?: i.e., non-biased, easily identifiable by the cultural group to be tested, (sheep sheering in the Andes may not be relevant to kids living in urban areas of New York or the Southwest).
3. Are pictures and drawings clear? Are objects easy to distinguish and activities easy to follow?

4. Does the format encourage language use or discourage it? Are pictures appealing to children/adolescents?
5. What is the physical appearance: i.e., print, sound or recording, small/large illustrations?
6. Are the items sequential or random? Does one item bias another?

Linguistic Considerations

1. Does the process allow for nonstandard language varieties? Is the language appropriate for the linguistic group to be tested?
2. Was the test designed specifically for the students' own ethno-linguistic group? If not, is a careful documentation of adaptation procedures available?
3. Is there an adequate representation of language domains? This requires that elements of home language, peer language, media language, and formal school language be included in the clues provided and be accepted as correct responses.
4. Which functions of languages are being tested in the questions and responses of the test? (e.g., explaining, questioning, requesting, analyzing).
5. Are all areas of the language-sound-system--phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon and creative language use --included in the assessment? If not, what is the

rationale for focusing on one/or a few of the above mentioned areas?

6. Are both receptive and expressive language capabilities measured?

7. Are all phases of language usage covered (i.e., listening, speaking, reading and writing)? If not, why not? Reading and writing are especially important at the secondary level.

8. Are alternate language forms parallel, (e.g., English/ Spanish versions)? Are questions of the same complexity? Was one version a translation of the other?

9. Does the test include both simple and complex items? What is the complexity range? Does it include different sentence types, and different tense patterns?

10. Does the test consider maturation level in scoring responses? What is the range of difficulty, (i.e., do responses represent the same expections from K-12)?

11. How does the test attempt to get a student to demonstrate a particular language skill? Would a native speaker in a comfortable social context respond as is expected on the test? Are the items and responses natural and ones that commonly occur? (Some structures are extremely difficult to elicit.)

12. Does the test give credit for only certain predetermined responses or does it take into account that there may be many appropriate responses? How does the test determine appropriateness?

Technical Considerations

1. What is the availability of specific information concerning the development and field testing of the instrument?
2. Is there alternate form reliability? Does statistical data show that the English version and other language versions are testing the same thing?
3. What is the stability of the test? If a student were tested again on the same instrument, would his/her score be the same (test-retest reliability)?
4. What is the inter-rater consistency? If a student were tested by different persons, would the results be the same? Can the testing procedures be duplicated (i.e., uniform procedures, time, instructions)?
5. How soon and how often can you use the same test without "teaching the tests?"
6. Does an incorrect answer on one or two items make a definitive difference in a student's score? How are the cut-off points from one proficiency level to another determined? Are they reliable and valid? What criteria were used for establishing cut-off points?
7. Is the statistical data reported for the validity of each recommended use of the test?
8. How was the difficulty level of an item determined? Most do not compute validity and reliability item by

item. (Southwest Regional Laboratories is attempting to do this in the proficiency test developed under state contract.)

9. What methods were used to select the norming groups?
10. When, where, and with what population was the instrument field tested?
11. When was the statistical data collected? How recent is it? Have changes been made in the instrument since?
12. Were native language speakers of both English and the other language used for determining the norms, correct responses and language categories?
13. What were the linguistic, educational achievement, and socio-economic characteristics of the population used for determining the test norms?
14. Who interprets the scores? Do regular teaching staff have the responsibility? Do you have the added expense and impersonalization of machine scores? How much time is required for hand scoring or for machine scoring?
15. Are the scores interpreted in terms of grade equivalents, percentile scores, or a raw score that might be meaningful for instruction (i.e., lists of structures, sounds, tasks the student had difficulty with)?
16. Are there safeguards against clerical error in scoring?

17. Does one have to have technical or specialized linguistic knowledge to do the scoring?
18. Do the results serve as a teaching aid? Does the test indicate areas in which a student is having difficulty and offer suggestions or activities to increase language proficiency?
19. Is there a correlation between what the tests are supposed to assess and what teachers are actually teaching in the classroom?

HOW A TESTING SITUATION CAN INHIBIT STUDENT PERFORMANCE

Careful consideration of the language testing situation itself is necessary in order to make the best use of the assessment instruments selected. It is not safe to assume that testing procedures define essentially controlled, passive conditions within which stored knowledge or general linguistic competence can be readily elicited by an examiner or a test question. Labov, for example, has shown that a testing situation itself can influence demonstrated student language proficiencies.[7] In a one-to-one student/assessor relationship --essentially a power relationship since the student is a subject and the assessor an authority--student fluency and verbosity is less than in an informal peer group setting.

To the extent that a testing situation requires students to perform in response to unnatural stimuli and in unnatural contexts (by "unnatural" we mean other than those in terms of which the student has learned to communicate) the testing situation itself may inhibit student performance. Careful planning, however, can do much to reduce the inhibiting effects of testing situations. We will examine some of the more significant ways in which the testing situation can inhibit student performance and suggest ways to reduce them.

A common testing approach, the pencil-and-paper test is far from being a natural language-use setting. In any event, it is hard to imagine a useful language assessment that would not include some way of assessing students' oral proficiency in communication. Some processes try to make testing situations non-threatening by disguising the fact that the student is being tested. Clearly, a decision to disguise the testing situation in order to put the student at ease will require a high level of language fluency and cultural sensitivity on the part of assessors. In addition, this creates a difference between the student's and assessor's perception of their relationship. We shall see that this may itself cause problems; meanwhile, we must note that if the student believes he or she is in a "natural" non-test situation the assessor must be able to participate successfully in the student's natural sociolinguistic context. Failure on the assessor's part can produce "incorrect" or ambiguous student responses. Experience with the San Diego Observation Assessment Instrument provides some interesting examples. The instrument was not openly administered as a test. In fact, some students approached it as a special time to be spent with an adult to look at and discuss some pictures. Frequently students were not aware that "performance" in two languages was expected and was to be judged. Yet the assessor had a definite agenda for the interaction and a defined procedure for eliciting a range of language skills, including the abilities to shift quickly from one language to another and to proceed from simple one-word responses to complex analysis and interpretation. For bilingual students, the direction, "Now let's talk in English," was not always enough to accomplish a language shift. Encouraged to view the situation as a social, non-power relationship, the students seemed surprised at assessors' instructions to switch languages. Bilingual students in peer usage do often switch languages but rarely on command.

In several other San Diego Assessment Instrument interviews, students were forced to ask questions to clarify what was expected of them. Those who did not may have been demonstrating a lack of language ability or a lack of ability to interpret the setting and the assessors' real expectations adequately. Or they may have been reluctant to challenge what they had been told the situation was to be.

In one case, referring to a picture which included a passing train, the assessor asked, "¿Que está pasando?" for "What's happening here?" The question is not one a native speaker of Spanish would ask to elicit a generalized commentary on the picture. As phrased, the question was interpreted naturally by the student as "What is going by?" The student correctly replied "Está pasando un tren" (A train is going by). This response was, for the assessor, determined to be an inadequate response. Often in such assessment situations mistakes made by the assessor are charged to the student.

Whether the testing situation is covert or overt a difference or a conflict in the perceptions of assessor and students can inhibit student performance. Both bring prior knowledge and experience to the assessment situation; if their social, cultural and developmental differences are not adequately taken into account, misunderstandings frequently occur. Yet examiners too often assume that questions about the assessment setting, procedures and language to be employed are obvious to the student, ignoring the reality that differences exist and are being communicated in subtle ways. Both assessor and student have some command of their language. Both have, in addition, internalized their own culture's rules for receiving, recognizing and then processing information in socially acceptable ways. Native ability in any language requires that the speaker go beyond information given at the literal level and recognize that different perspectives, general appearance, movements, intonations and gestures convey additional or modifying information. Verbal directions or cues that seem perfectly clear to the assessor ("Tell me about the picture," "I want you to answer as well as you can," etc.) may not give the student a clear indication of the performance expected.

Labov cites examples of some children's bewilderment when a language assessor took them into a room and told them, "Say what is in front of you," when it was obvious that the assessor could see quite well what was in front of them.[8] These children had learned that the function of communication is to convey useful information. The difference between the children's and the assessors' perceptions in this instance confused the children and inhibited their response.

Other children, however, had learned to recognize such a question as a signal to display their vocabulary and knowledge. They disregarded such factors as whether the questioner already knew the answer, or whether they had received instructions to elaborate. They expected to be asked what they knew. The other children described above expected to be asked for real information. If language assessors ignore such perceptual differences and then equate verbal reticence with a lack of language ability they make serious mistakes.

Williams and Noremore have reported similar findings.[9] When asked terse questions about a picture ("What's that?" "What do you see?", etc.) children trained by parents who asked questions simply to get them to verbalize responded with elaborate and complicated descriptions. Other children, questioned in the same way, responded in kind with a word or phrase that depended for communicative meaning on the questioners' ability to see the picture--which the child could see was the case. When all the children were given the same specific instructions as to the kind of response expected, however, these differences disappeared. When the reticent children were told that the assessor wanted to find out how much they could say in response to a question their answers were as elaborate as those of the other children. These examples strongly suggest that many times students' "performance" on language assessment tests is inhibited by the assessors' failure to tell them clearly what the testing situation is about, what behaviors are being looked for, or what skills they are expected to demonstrate.

Mehan has reported other examples of assessment error caused by differences between the assessors' and childrens' perceptions.[10] Significantly, the tests reviewed by Mehan were meant to determine student achievement. Looking at a series of pictures among which were a bird and elephant, the children had been asked to mark one of "something that can fly." A number of children marked the elephant as "something that can fly." Their choice was marked as incorrect. Mehan, in his study, asked the children to explain their test answers. Those who had marked the elephant as "something that can fly" explained about Walt Disney's creation, Dumbo the Flying Elephant. For them, clearly and reasonably, an elephant was "something that can fly." If we speculate about urban ghetto children who may know little about real elephants it seems unfair to mark as "lower achievers" those whose TV cartoon viewing has personified Walt Disney's Dumbo the Flying Elephant.

MacKay has also demonstrated that tests often fail to recognize differences between adult and child perceptions which affect assessment of children's knowledge or proficiency in expression.[11] Students often see many linkings between a question and different possible answers while the test

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constructor sees only one. A correct answer depends too often on compatibility between the students' and the test constructor's frames of reference. In designing testing situations, therefore, care should be taken to make them as non-restrictive as possible, allowing as best we can for the accomodation of differences.

Even for formal, machine scored tests it is important to consider the testing situation. If students clearly understand what they are being tested for, and if precautions are taken to present the language assessment as a non-threatening, non-fail situation, it is less likely that they will respond with "evasive action" such as marking to produce a pleasing visual pattern or stopping as soon as they notice that a friend has finished. Too, the less threatening the test appears to students, the less likely they are to rely on blind guessing--or to make no response at all--which provide no indication of what the student knows.

TEST SCORING AND INTERPRETATION

Language assessment instruments and processes are tools for gathering information. Until the responses are interpreted, the assessed information has little value for educational prescription. Depending on the type of test or process used, different scoring and interpretation problems can arise.

Norming

Perhaps the first thing to address in this whole context is the issue of norming. The possibility of using standardized tests and of being able to make normative comparisons of test results has a strong appeal. It appears more objective, more scientific, somehow, than informal, less standardized and more individual measures of language use. Further, the need for categorical information about students; the need to define instructional groups; the need to define levels of competencies and skills; and the need to establish achievement and proficiency criteria: all are real and all seem to require making some kind of normative comparisons. This is usually done by norm-referenced tests, in which an individual's performance is ranked in relation to the performances of others on the same measure. Sometimes criterion-referenced tests in which an individual's performance is ranked in relation to an established standard or normed task may also be used.

Because of the wide variety of significant differences in maturation levels, socio-historical background, culture, language, learning styles, attitudes, etc., found among those students most likely to be candidates for language assessment, norm referenced ranking must be undertaken with caution. Norm referenced evaluation is based on the assumption that those whose performance is being compared have:

-- Had equivalent opportunities to learn and to acquire the skills being tested;

-- Been similarly motivated to learn;

-- Had equivalent experience with testing and assessment situations;

-- No emotional disturbances that would interfere with test performance;

-- No sensory, motor or physical impairments;

-- Been equally exposed to vocabulary, language structures, and tasks used in the test;

-- Have similar attitudes toward, and desire to use, the language or skills being tested.[12]

These assumptions are ideal and are never fully met, but only to the extent to which they are approximated are norm referenced rankings valid. The probability of very wide discrepancies being present between Lau students and a test's norming group cannot be safely ignored.

Criterion referenced test rankings often provide a more reliable index of student performance for instructional purposes. It is more useful to know a student's ability relative to an established level of performance than in comparison to someone else's performance for educational prescription. Criterion referencing is not immune to bias however: questions about whose criteria are accepted, and what their level of relevance is to the student's reality need to be answered thoughtfully.

The most important thing to bear in mind when considering questions of language assessment is that as necessary as categorical and statistical information may be, successful educational prescription requires additional and much more individualized information. For program placement and instructional planning, comparison of students is not called for and may well cause confusion.

Scoring

The scoring of formal tests rarely presents problems. Some are machine scored; others require only mechanical noting of correct and incorrect responses and their total numerical value. Such tests do present special problems of test score interpretation, but they will be discussed a little later. The scoring of less formal tests can raise problems that need to be considered.

Some assessment procedures require that the examiner simultaneously administer the test and record the student's responses. Care must be taken to ensure that responses are recorded accurately and are assigned values (if any) according to established criteria. Some research suggests that interviewers superimpose their own perceptions of sequence, order, and importance on the responses given by those interviewed. This imposition, or simply the examiner's selectivity of attention, can lead to the exclusion or the misrepresentation of student responses. Clear criteria for scoring responses are necessary, too, especially if several different interviewers are administering the same assessment process.

In some assessment processes, language interviews are recorded and later transcribed and scored. While this method frees the interviewer from the distraction of recording student responses, leaving him/her more free to interact with the student, it raises the same problems mentioned above--and probably more acutely. Removed from the interactional context and the student's physical presence, factual transcription of responses is more uncertain. For example, three different transcribers of varying fluency in the student's language and from differing cultural backgrounds produced three significantly different versions of a student's responses when transcribing San Diego Observation Instrument interviews.

For direct observation approaches, the need for careful and detailed criteria of linguistic characteristics to be

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recorded and judged is particularly necessary if scoring is to mean anything. The ideal for any test would be for student results to be the same even if their responses were recorded and scored by more than one interviewer.

Finally, some scoring procedures require a sophisticated knowledge of linguistics in order to assign points or values to test responses. Test developers are sometimes overly-optimistic as to the time and effort needed to equip assessors with the necessary scoring skills.

Those planning for language assessment must consider the specific skills needed to score accurately their assessment instruments. If those skills are not adequately represented among the staff, plans must be made to provide them through inservice training, the hiring of specialists, or the use of consultants. Without accurate scoring the most thorough-going assessment effort can be wasted.

Interpretation

Interpretation of assessment responses or scores is the final step in language assessment, whether it be for categorical or diagnostic information. For categorical information, interpretation of assessment scores will result in student identification of Lau students who are:

A--Non-English speaking

B--Limited English speaking

C--Bilingual: English and other than English

D--Primarily English: some other than English

E--Monolingual English speaking

For diagnostic information, assessment scores may be interpreted to profile each student's strengths and weaknesses in the various domains and cognitive areas, as described on page 50.

In all evaluations, interpretation of test scores should include careful consideration of the cut-off points established for rankings. Too often, a difference of one or two correct responses, more or less, can mean the difference between significantly different categorical rankings. Interpreters should be aware of this and be prepared to consult other indicators (much as informal observations, etc.) to modify or substantiate formal test scores.

For diagnostic interpretation, obviously the broader the data base the more secure the diagnosis. Hopefully, the interpreter will have the results of more than a single instrument or process to consider. In any event, consideration should be given to the known strengths and weaknesses of the test or tests used, the circumstances of test setting, the motivation of both student and assessor, and any other known factors that might influence performance. Finally, educators concerned with the personal growth and academic development of each student must not let test scores or language performance represent the student's overall ability or potential. Too often when dealing with objective measurements of students there is a tendency to label students based on a few dimensions instead of considering each unique individual in all aspects of his/her personhood.

Together with those of the assessors, the skill, knowledge and sensitivity of those interpreting language assessment results make the best defense against the weaknesses of language assessment instruments and processes which the state-of-the-art imposes on educators today.

STAFF DEVELOPMENT

It should be evident by now that reliable and useful language assessment depends to a very large degree on the skills, knowledge and sensitivity of the professionals who do the assessing. We have emphasized language assessment for diagnosis leading to effective educational prescription; in discussing staff development for language assessment, therefore, we do not want to separate assessors from teachers. The underlying assumptions and knowledge prerequisite for adequate assessment skills are also required for effective Lau student instruction. So, in the following pages, we will discuss some staff development concepts which apply both to those who will assess Lau students and to those who will teach them.

Responsibility for Staff Development

We believe that the areas of language and language assessment discussed in this manual should be stressed in the universities that prepare professionals for the field of bilingual/cross-cultural education. There is a crying need for professionals who can deal with the affective and cognitive needs of Lau students within their linguistic and cultural contexts.

Federal and state policies and laws can encourage the development of competency criteria for professionals in bilingual education. State licensing boards can establish and enforce high standards for professional certification. But while we are moving as a nation to bring professional skills to the necessary level to meet national origin minority students' educational needs, local school boards and district-level administrators must take the initiative to ensure that the assessment and instructional programs they implement are not doomed to failure by ignoring the need for adequately prepared staff. Active recruitment of competent staff is clearly needed. So, also, are opportunities for staff development through inservice training. We must believe that school professionals wish to deal fairly with all their students: local school boards and administrators can make certain that their educational staff develop the skills necessary to do so.

Professional staff development at the local level will naturally depend largely on inservice training programs. This is not all bad; Pietras and Lamb have shown that inservice training of teachers who are daily encountering the curricular and non-curricular problems of national origin minority students is more effective and is perceived as more relevant than formal course work at undergraduate or graduate levels.[13] Presumably, the possibility of increased rapport with actual students reinforces the professionals' appreciation of inservice training and improves its effectiveness. In any event, local boards, administrators and professionals themselves need not view inservice programs as "repair" or "make do" methods. Thoughtfully planned and positively approached, they can provide a real avenue for professional growth.

Staff Development Areas

We will discuss staff development needs in two broad areas: attitude and language. By attitude we mean expectations, ways of seeing, standards of judgment, etc. within the parameters of educational professionalism. While the qualities are subjective they have an objective reality in the experience of students. And though subjective they are knowledge-based. It is reasonable, therefore, to discuss them as relevant competency factors for language assessors or for language-related program teachers.

The major premises of this manual to do with language are that linguistic and cognitive development are inseparable, that both are developmental, and that for educational purposes emphasis must be kept on language as a tool for communication. Logically, since communication must take place within a variety of widely differing contexts, there exist language varieties. These premises have already been argued. For considering staff development in the broad area of language we will discuss those skills specially needed for language assessment and those that are necessary for educational professionals--language assessors, counselors and teachers--who work with language-related programs.

Attitude

About ten years ago Rosenthal and Jacobson showed us (in Pygmalion in the Classroom) the importance of teachers' attitudes for students' classroom performance.[14] Since then, additional research has further investigated the relationship of teachers' attitudes and expectations of students to student achievement and also has identified student characteristics that influence the nature of teachers' expectations of children according to their sex, physical attractiveness, social class and behavior. Adults expect females (rather than males), children with certain physical attributes, middle-class children, and "well-behaved" children to perform better at school tasks and to attain higher educational goals.[15] Adams and Cohen found that adult expectations based on children's characteristics extended to their behavior outside the educational context and even to predicting their family background characteristics.[16] They found evidence of a vicious circle of interactions: family background "indicators" triggering low teacher expectations; teacher expectations encouraging low student performance; student performance reinforcing teacher expectations, and the whole cycle affirming for the teacher the "reliability" of the originally perceived generalized success or failure indicators.

Rist found that the following student characteristics prompted positive teacher expectations: "high degree of verbalization in Standard American English; the ability to become a leader; a neat and clean appearance; coming from a family that is educated, employed, living together, and interested in the child; and the ability to participate well as a member of a group."[17]

We have seen above that adults often tend to "predict" family background characteristics based on subjective perception. Experience has shown that a perception of "neat and clean" can be extremely subjective. The "ability to participate well as a member of a group" usually depends as much on the group as on the individual. So even the "characteristics" listed above may well, in any student, be more attributed than real.

Linguistic characteristics are traditionally strong cues for teacher attitude development. Roger Shuy found that a large number of teachers in an urban area perceived their students as having a "limited vocabulary" and many offered as the reason a "disadvantaged" home background.[18] Some of the teachers characterized their students' greatest problems as failure to speak in sentences and/or complete thoughts. Shuy claims that the responses of teachers to their students' grammar problems was naive, indicating that the linguistic sophistication or teachers is often limited. Teachers' attitudes about students reflect perceptions of a student's

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ability to use "standard English". Such attitudes have educational significance for they assign exaggerated value to standard English, and create negative attitudes toward students who do not or cannot speak standard English. The negative attitudes affect teachers' perceptions of the need and/or desirability of developing bi-dialectal skills in limited/non-English or nonstandard English speakers. Certain language criteria become indicators of expected success and others become indicative of expected failure.

Teachers seem to have a mental image of the "ideal type" of student which conforms to societal expectations. Language serves as a social marker in society as well as in the schools and the skillful use of standard English is considered a very important index of an individual's educational achievement. Thus, it is important that the study of language variations in children, especially minority children, and attitudinal correlates be incorporated in staff development programs to prevent language attitudes from prompting false prophecies that may become self-fulfilling. Teachers and assessors must not evaluate intelligence, worth, and the potential of individual students on the basis of speech characteristics that are different from their own. They must not confuse language differences with language deficits.

These attitudinal questions become crucial when one considers that educational decisions affecting students, program options and placement are subjectively made by teachers.

Research suggests that early teacher perceptions of students are passed sequentially from one teacher to the next throughout the students' school career. The performance of a student whose reputation is supposedly established in one grade may be viewed as clearly predictable by the next teacher because of the student's previous instructor. Crano and Mellon[19] speculated that the effects of social evaluations and expectations based on aspects of a student that are totally incidental to intellectual promise could represent a potential educational inequity even greater than that emphasized by Rosenthal and Jacobson (Pygmalion in the Classroom) since they continue to affect later academic performance through the passing of information about students from one teacher to another.[20] There is also the clear possibility that teacher's perceptions of students influence the development of the student's self-concept. Lambert and Peal have in fact demonstrated that students tend to reflect negative attitudes held by teachers about their own language.[21]

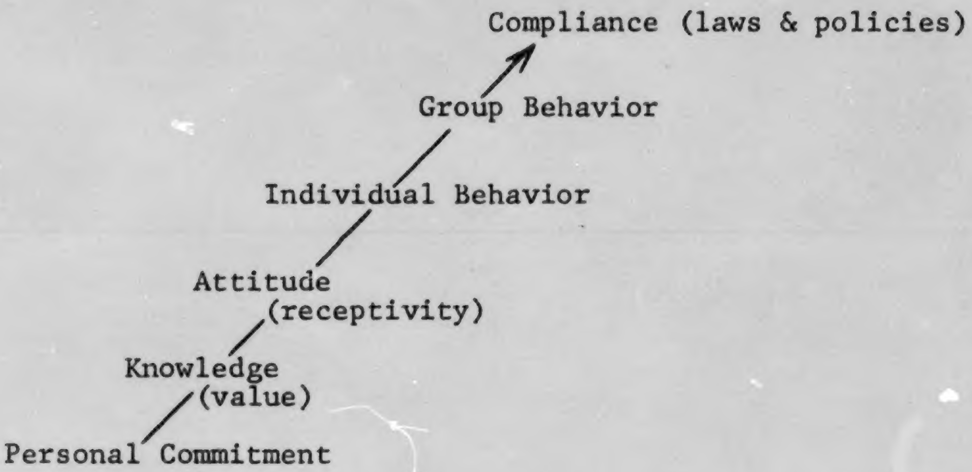
Language attitudes and teacher expectations affect not only evaluations of students, but also teacher interactions with students. Teachers appear to spend more time and interact verbally in more positive and supportive ways with high achievers than with low achievers. Teachers not only demand better performance from students from whom they have higher expectations, but are also more prone to praise such performance when it occurs. Conversely, teachers tend to accept low performance from low-expectation students and are less likely to praise good performance from those students.

Given the importance of attitudinal factors in assessing and teaching Lau students, how can they be dealt with in staff development? At present, administrators and educational professionals experience many coercive pressures to change past practices and to adopt new ones. The pressures come from federal and state laws, regulations and policies; from local school boards; and often from community groups. It is not hard to understand why these pressures have been generated, but still, we must recognize that coercion is an unsatisfactory change agent in many ways. When coercion is used to effect change in group behavior something like the following dynamic is often created:

Coercion (laws & policies)
Group Behavior
Individual Behavior
Attitude
Knowledge
Personal Commitment

Coercion, applied to the group, may produce quick changes in behavior. The group, of course, is made up of individuals and so the change is in individual behavior. Coercion to behave in ways one is not knowledgeable about, is not comfortable with, and is not convinced will accomplish positive results will often, of course, produce negative attitudes. Negative attitudes will in turn distort or deny new knowledge that might threaten the attitudes. Coercion, it seems, can easily set up a chain of reactions that prevent the development of personal commitment to the new behaviors expected. Inevitably then, change lasts only as long as the coercive force is felt. More important for this discussion, coercion as a change agent promotes the defense of those negative attitudes we have seen can undermine language assessment and the teaching of Lau students. An alternative to coercion is necessary and can easily be found.

Let us use the same model of change discussed above and turn it around. If we assume--as we believe we have every right to do--that school professionals are personally committed to providing educational opportunities to their students, then the individual will value new knowledge that will improve his/her professional abilities. Individuals are more or less receptive to any change per se, but new knowledge to which a positive value can be attached can produce positive attitudes which, in turn, result in new individual behaviors. Individual behaviors influence, and ultimately determine, group behavior. The model now looks like this:


Compliance (laws & policies)
Group Behavior
Individual Behavior
Attitude
(receptivity)
Knowledge
(value)
Personal Commitment

The laws and policies which in the first model appeared as coercive still exist. Now, however, they appear as standards and as expressions of institutional commitment.

Staff development programs that concentrate on communicating the coercive weight of laws and policies fit the first model. Those in which careful inservice training provides assessors and teachers with knowledge fit the second model. Both assessors and teachers need the kind of knowledge about language and student characteristics discussed in this manual. The San Diego Lau (NOD) Center Manual V, Planning and Implementation Issues in Bilingual Education Programming discusses teacher training and identifies some observable characteristics of programs whose content will foster the positive attitudes and discourage the negative expectations we have been discussing.

Language

Language assessors and teachers need to know the speech community in which they teach and should understand the historical background of change in United States speech communities in general and in the school community in particular. They should understand the historical attitudes toward language varieties in the United States--attitudes which have stressed the replacement or progressive modification of the child's own speech, equating educational gains with a "standard" variety of English. Language norms should be viewed not as good or bad, correct or incorrect, but in terms of contexts, emphasizing appropriateness rather than correctness. Teachers should understand the concept of verbal repertoire and the implications of language varieties for children who often switch between their home language and English. Evidence should be presented to enable teachers to realize that what may seem to be a case of language interference or "language problem", on close examination is seen to have pattern and social as well as linguistic meaning. Studies of language switching among teachers themselves can illustrate the bases of adaptation of speech to context. Teachers must realize that to eradicate the varieties of speech that students bring to school also denies them their own identity and feeling. Language switching and use of language variety in a classroom are evidence of an environment of personal involvement and mutual trust in language use; they encourage the creative and elaborated use of language that we all wish to promote. Teachers should also understand the relationship between language and cognition and must realize that some urban language differences, while they do not interfere with cognitive processes such as reading, do have a significant influence on teacher expectation and hence may affect learning environment. Ability grouping done on the basis of tests which emphasize children's abilities to speak proper English and to handle the technical aspects of reading and spelling is culturally biased. Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez have shown that a teaching style emphasizing questioning, frequent correction and emphasis on the technical aspects of reading, grammar and spelling which is often used with slow readers and sometimes associated with assessment situations frequently carries negative associations and often elicits lack of cooperation.[22]

Information on dialect and language differences is presented to educators in the form of lists of deviant features with the suggestion that these features might interfere with learning, especially reading. Yet there is little evidence that pronunciations or native usages actually interfere with the cognitive processes. Classroom instruction or teacher efforts to correct these aspects of language use often instill negative self-concept ir the students.

Educators should become acquainted with language variety in formal and informal settings and with cultural and socio-economic aspects that form the context of language selection processes. They should also be able to diagnose their own communication problems and adapt their teaching and assessment methods to their students. To understand the function of language in the classroom and in language assessment situations teachers need to consider more than language.

An understanding of communication, including non-verbal communication, which goes beyond grammar to the ability to use language is important. Staff training should emphasize the integration of verbal and nonverbal communication in teacher/child interactions. Emphasis should be on the process of communication, on mutual interaction, and participation in relevant contexts. Students do not speak when taught according to alienating norms by persons who have not perceived or entered into the norms the students already have. Teachers must be aware of the knowledge students bring to classroom interactions and must realize that the meaning of an act of communication is not complete except in terms of the interpretive procedures basic to all human communication.

Emphasis should be placed on the dependence of meaning and language function on context, for the language of the classroom is not always the language of competence for the students. For the purpose of assessing the school itself, as well as for presenting relevant and meaningful instruction, teachers must realize the importance of what goes on outside school settings. Significant issues concerning language in the community often focus upon the following aspects:

- Attitudes toward language;
- What language people in the community prefer or expect their educational system to use;
- What connection people see between language and occupation or socio-economic advancement;
- What language or languages people actually use in their daily communication.[23]

Also important is data on language in the educational system. Questions such as the following are important to answer:

- What languages are actually being used in the schools and what percentage of their time do students spend at school; what languages are used as media of instruction, as auxiliary media of instruction, for communication;
- What are the competencies of school staff in those languages;
- What curriculum materials are available to students, in what languages, at what levels, written by whom, where printed;
- What subjects are best taught in what languages.

Mass communication media such as TV, movies, advertisements, and newspapers often reflect language patterns and the status of various languages in the community. It is important to note what language(s) are used in such communication media, what facilities are available and how effective they are. Differences in language used by students in the formal school situation and in the informal non-school community, home, and peer situations are revealing and can help teachers to formulate a more accurate perspective of student language competence. Success in school is unlikely unless the novel aspects of language and communication that a child is to use in school are tied to supports in the real world.

Additional aspects of teacher training should cover verbal strategies used by teachers and the consequences of those strategies when confronted with the learning strategies of students from different language and cultural backgrounds. Often teachers are concerned only with what they say and forget that how they say it is a key to successful teaching. Inservice should emphasize that language is content and reveals how people relate to each other. By ignoring the complexities of language interactions schools whose aims are to teach language and to teach through language instead train children to be increasingly silent.[24]

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PART THREE

EDUCATIONAL PRESCRIPTIONS

By

Iris Santos-Rivera

and

Byron Williams

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PART THREE

EDUCATIONAL PRESCRIPTION by Iris Santos-Rivera and Byron Williams

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DATA FOR EDUCATIONAL PRESCRIPTION

Prescription of appropriate educational programs for Lau students must be based on the best assessment and diagnostic information available. This should include:

- Information about the Lau students' community cultural and linguistic characteristics based on a socio-cultural survey. This is essential for correct choices between transitional and maintenance language programs and for developing relevant curricula and materials.
- Categorical information identifying each Lau student as:

  A. Non-English speaking
  B. Limited English speaking
  C. Bilingual: English and other than English
  D. Primarily English: some other than English
  E. Monolingual English speaking

  Students in categories C, D and E whose academic achievement is below school's normal standards are still considered to be Lau students.
- Diagnostic information from linguistic and cognitive assessment as described in this manual earlier.

> This data will identify linguistic and cognitive skills in both English and the appropriate other language in several social domains.

Based on the best available data as described above, educational strategies and programs can be prescribed which will build upon existing skills and facilitate the fullest development of needed skills. As used here, "educational prescription" encompasses both collective, or group, prescription and individual student prescription. Socio-cultural information, plus categorical information, is needed for such collective prescription decisions as between highly structured or open classrooms; for curriculum development; for deciding on language transitional or language maintenance programs. Diagnostic information, plus categorical information, is needed for such prescription decisions as individual student placement, choice of teaching strategies, and the development of individual learning plans. In the pages that follow we will discuss some of the concerns and techniques of both kinds of prescription for Lau students with the assumption that the assessment and diagnostic information specified above has been made available. For simplicity of discussion we will discuss Lau students according to their categorical groupings as A, B, C, etc.--but such categorizing for prescription can only be as useful as the accuracy of the assessment processes that identify them.

A word needs to be said, too, about the uses of diagnostic information. Too frequently, Lau students are labelled and dealt with at the level of their lowest identified skill or development. This should be reversed. Every effort should be made to attach teacher expectations, self expectations and parent expectations to the student's highest identified skill or knowledge level. Further, any diagnosis that reveals no appreciable skills is highly suspect. Our clear position is that--failing rare and unique accidents--all children enter schools with developed linguistic and cognitive skills. The purpose of assessment is to identify them; the purpose of prescription is to build upon, expand and increase them. Basic to our approach to Lau student prescription is the belief that the transfer of linguistic and cognitive skills from one language or one domain to another is more readily achieved than the development of skills. Therefore, development should be emphasized in the areas of greatest strength and maximal opportunity for skill transfer into weaker areas should be provided.

SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT LAU STUDENT NEEDS

A broad range of student characteristics, problems, opportunities, needs and abilities will be encountered in a Lau student population. A broad range of resources, skills and strategies will be needed to meet their educational needs. A few general considerations may, however, help the school professional to make sure that the resource matches the need and the strategy matches the opportunity.

A & B (Non-English Speaking and Limited English Speaking)

Office for Civil Rights Task Force Remedies specify that in grades K-8, A & B students must receive instruction in their language other than English while English is being acquired.[1] A and B students should be provided instructional content that will challenge above-average abilities in those areas identified by assessment. Negative attitudinal factors in their learning environment must be avoided; given a fair opportunity and reasonable encouragement children of above-average ability *will* learn a great deal: this is nearly axiomatic. Reasonable provision for keeping track of these

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students' progress will ensure that someone in the school is alerted when some problem arises that impedes their learning. If, for example, a student demonstrates high skills in the home language domain but not in the school language domain, the teacher can be accepting of the home language and use it to communicate concepts while encouraging the student to broaden his/her language repertoire by improving school language skills. This is better than refusing to accept any other than school language and in effect to shut off the student's opportunity to learn until he/she has learned the right words to learn it in. Especially for younger students with high linguistic skill levels teaching a second language (English) or a new dialectal variety (school Spanish, perhaps) is largely a matter of maximizing exposure to natural language usage. Dual language instruction programs are most appropriate for A & B high linguistic level students. Their existing skills are real and transfer of them is comparatively easy.

Those rare students diagnosed as having developed little or no skills by the assessment processes discussed in this manual require further special assessment. With such students there exists the possibility of learning problems or mental or emotional impairment: that is, they may, indeed, be "exceptional children" who require some form of therapeutic treatment or special education program. In any event, educational prescriptions for students should be in their native languages in order to capitalize on the strongest existing levels of linguistic/cognitive development. Isolation should be the prescription of last resort. In some cases, an individually prescribed program within the regular bilingual classroom will be indicated, where informal assistance from peer-group language use may help to bring the low skill level student up to peer-level.

In all cases, very low skill level students will need individualized attention from a teacher or aide trained to work with exceptional children. Even within some medically defined types of retardation (for example, Mongolism) there are children who can benefit from mainstream education.[2] Such children, whether English speaking or not, must have a written individualized education program consistent with state laws and practices.

Students diagnosed as A and B must be prescribed for with careful consideration for the domain in which their greatest linguistic fluency and highest cognitive development are apparent. Cognitive development should be emphasized in the language variety most appropriate, in terms of the students' existing skills, to the specific content area being taught: i.e., math, social studies, etc. Care must be taken to ensure that a misdirected emphasis (concentration on drills, etc., at the expense of motivational support) does not result in a student's loss of cognitive skills that have been only marginally developed.

C (Bilingual)

Students categorized as C (Bilingual) by the assessment processes discussed so far must also be evaluated in terms of their academic achievement. (So must D and E students.) If their academic achievement levels are below local standards for all students, they will continue to be considered as Lau students.

Students assessed as having a high linguistic/cognitive development and found also to be underachieving pose an apparent contradiction. In the past, judged by much coarser assessment techniques than those proposed here, such students' linguistic and cognitive skills have too often been overlooked. Assessment, however, that can identify higher linguistic and cognitive development in other than formal school domains permits educational prescription that will build on existing skills and facilitate their transfer. Prescription should emphasize the teaching of basic skills (reading, writing and math) in the students' strongest language and within the strongest language domain. Development of oral language expression will expand the students' linguistic repertoire and facilitate cognitive transfer from one domain to another. Motivational support strategies to combat or prevent negative self-concepts attendant on "underachieving," and to encourage the growth of positive self expectations are needed. Mixing these students with others of varying linguistic and cognitive proficiency levels is beneficial in this respect. While emphasizing reading, writing, and math, it is well to bear in mind along with Herbert Kohl (On Teaching) that:

> There are many other basic skills such as cultural awareness, information finding, the ability to teach oneself. It is important to keep in mind that reading and writing do not guarantee intelligence, sensitivity or compassion.[3]

Herbert Kohl also makes the point that reading and writing do not have to be taught in a context alien to the knowledge and experience of students. Though not writing specifically to the issue of bilingual education, Kohl's comments seem especially relevant to the situation of most bilingual students.

> From my perspective one of the main roles of the teacher is to understand what his or her students know outside of school and to connect this knowledge and experience with what goes on in the classroom. School should be an extension of the rest of ones' life and not an instrument of alienation. The classroom can be set up and the reading program designed so that students can draw on their own experiences and take advantage of strengths already developed.[4]

The whole point of this manual, of course, is to assist educators to identify and understand those "strengths already developed" by Lau students. For no group is this more important than for the bilingual Lau students. They probably are the great majority, in fact, of those "national origin minority" students who have so consistantly failed to achieve adequately in the public schools--and whose failure the U.S. Supreme Court has blamed on the deprivation of their right to an equal educational opportunity.

For students assessed as bilingual, careful consideration needs to be given to diagnostic information about their relative strengths in one language or the other. For many, concentration on cognitive skill development in the native language will be indicated. Others may develop satisfactory English language skills yet develop cognitive skills more slowly. A possible option for such students might be a HILT (High Intensity Language Training) program in their native language, which could enhance their cognitive development, using their native language as the medium of instruction.

Special care needs to be taken with bilingual students who are code-switchers. Those who mix languages with their peers and with bilingual teachers must interact with monolingual speakers of both languages. For example, they might work at times with teachers who speak only English and with peers and others who speak only their language other than English. This is needed to facilitate students' sorting out and separating the two languages. For many who have been born into a bilingual environment it seems as if the two are merely parts of a single "mixed" language. The sorting out necessary for monolingual communication does not, however, seem to be difficult. Given some opportunity, most bilingual children become very adept at adjusting to monolingual situations.

Bilingual students with highly developed skills are a valuable resource for bilingual programs. They make excellent program facilitators with other Lau students and can communicate most effectively with their peers. Often they can facilitate and accelerate language development in the classroom.

They can do much to counteract the tendency of bilingual programs to be considered remedial with the accompanying stereotype of bilingual program students as belonging in a "dummy" class.

Bilingual students with lower than average linguistic and cognitive skills must be considered with the same care and in the same terms as low skill level A & B students. Special care should be taken not to prescribe programs that introduce cognitive tasks in more than one language. A determination must be made as to which language is the better for instruction. Exposure to the second language should initially be in informal settings, and placement should ensure peer-group acceptance. Motivational support will be an important factor in programs for such students.

D and E (Predominantly English-Speaking and Monolingual English Speaking)

D and E students *should* be achieving at or above local achievement standard levels. If they are, they are by definition no longer Lau students. Just the same, they might well benefit from a well planned HILT program in their home language. They represent a valuable asset as role models for A and B students and for underachieving C students. In turn, they will be enriched by adding the language of their heritage.

D and E students whose academic achievement is below local standards are still Lau students. Prescriptive assessment indicators of linguistic and cognitive proficiency can serve to help identify the causes of their failure to achieve. Prescriptions for these students should be the same as for any English-speaking student--counseling, tutoring, etc.--with the provision that such prescriptions require (as they do with any English-speaking student) a sensitivity and relevance to the socio-cultural-economic realities of the students' lives.

PROGRAM MODELS FOR LAU STUDENTS

District-wide and school-site plans for meeting the educational needs of Lau students are proliferating throughout the United States. The development and prescription of educational programs for Lau students may require designing a program from the ground up or it may require developing and prescribing the best possible strategies within an existing program. In either event, an understanding of the more common programs for Lau students is most useful. William Francis Mackey has identified some seventy bilingual schooling models; here we will discuss briefly eight models which for practical purposes can be seen as covering the range of program possibilities within which school professionals are most likely to be working.[5] The various models derive from different combinations of a limited number of basic distinctions. Since Mackey's terminology is more likely to be familiar to readers than any other it is used here for the models presented in the following pages. The models are elaborated here past the point at which Mackey must fairly bear responsibility for them. Their basic definition and their nomenclature are owed to him and taken from Spolsky's Frontier of Bilingual Education.[6] So is the following description of the basic distinctions that generate the various models:

> The program may make use only of a language which is not that of the home, as in the so-called complete-immersion program. These single-medium (S) programs, are opposed to dual-medium (D) programs, in which two languages are used. The program may use less and less of one language, resulting in eventual transfer (T) of the medium of instruction either completely (C) or gradually (G); or it may continue to use both languages; resulting in their maintenance (M) as school languages. The maintenance may consist of equal (E) and identical treatment of both languages; or it may consist of a different (D) treatment, using one language for some subjects and another language for others. Some of these programs may result in cultural change, that is, in acculturation (A); others in cultural revival, that is, in irredentism (I). The interplay of these basic distinctions generates a limited number of possible patterns.[7]

Eight models based on combinations of the distinctions noted by Mackey are:

1. Single Acculturation Transfer (SAT).

   English is the only language of instruction. Students are expected to acquire the cultural characteristics of the "majority" culture. English is taught concurrently as a second language (ESL) or by a High Intensity Language Training (HILT) method. The Office for Civil Rights defines this program as acceptable for grades 9-12 but not for K-8.[8] In those lower grades ESL alone is not considered sufficient to ensure equal educational opportunities for Lau students.

2. Single Acculturation Maintenance (SAM).

   The language other than English only is used as the medium of instruction. Students are expected to acquire the cultural characteristics of the "majority" culture. English is taught as ESL or by a HILT method.

3. Dual Acculturation Transfer (COMPLETE) (DAT-C). Both English and the language other than English are used for instruction. When competency in English is achieved, students transfer into all-English instruction. Students are expected to acquire the cultural characteristics of the "majority" culture.
4. Dual Acculturation Transfer (Gradual) (DAT-G). Both languages are used for instruction, with a gradual reduction of use of the language other than English until all-English instruction is achieved. Students are expected to acquire the cultural characteristics of the "majority" culture.
5. Dual Different Maintenance (DDM). Both languages are used, but for different purposes and/or for different amounts of time. The languages are separated by subject; the language other than English is maintained as the language of instruction in certain subjects. The outstanding feature of this model is that subject areas are chosen to increase cognition in one language or the other, but not in both. This program is most often bi- or multicultural in intent.

6. Dual Equal Maintenance (A) (DEM-A).

Both languages are used in all subject areas. If the instruction program is designed to produce fully coordinate bilinguals it is considered a full DEM-A program. Bilingualism is achieved by Lau students only. This program is usually bi-cultural in intent.

7. Dual Equal Maintenance (B) (DEM-B).

This program differs from that above in that both Lau and non-Lau (majority) students become fully coordinate bilinguals. It is usually bi-cultural in intent.

8. Dual Irridental Maintenance (DIM).

Both languages are used for instruction in all areas. Lau students' own culture is emphasized; the intent is to educate them within the context of their own culture.

SOME THOUGHTS ON LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION

We have emphasized throughout the importance of language for communication and the desirability of providing a natural-use language environment for learning and developing language skills. This in no way implies that language learning and development should be left to chance by the teacher. But instead of--or certainly at least in addition to--drills and methods that separate language from language content, the teacher must develop strategies for teaching language use in terms of its communicative functions. In the first part of this manual, Dr. Sanchez has presented A.K. Halliday's definitions of language functions (see page 56). Those functions will serve us here to pose sample activities for developing communicative language skills within a natural-use context.

1. Instrumental Function--"I want"

The activities for this function are based on the premise that to satisfy personal needs one must begin with the ability to give a clear and convincing articulation of those needs.

The ability to express what one wants is measured by the effectiveness of the communication of that need. Yet different needs require different types of communication techniques, depending on the social domain, the need, the receiving party and the medium of communication chosen to transmit that need.

Students must be taught to develop and expand alternative techniques and mediums of communicating. They must be taught to discriminate as to method, domain and most appropriate expression for need communication.

Example:

Assignment of role playing cards. The cards will describe different circumstances, domains, and needs of an individual and will specify a recipient who must understand the communication and be convinced of the need expressed by the student. Discussion by the group or class should follow about how effectively the communication was handled.

2. Regulatory Function--"Do as I tell you"

The activities to be planned for teaching the regulatory function with its consequent channeling of the behavior of others should be integrated into exercises for critical thinking, organizational skills, leadership and interpersonal skills.

Skills should include:

- Clear articulation of request;
- Verbal amenities that will enhance the request for action;
- Knowledge of attitudes and symbols that will help expedite the request.

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Example

Setting up classroom committees; setting up task groups; carrying out responsibilities for classroom management; assigning responsibilities to others for management of learning centers, school and community projects; setting up schedules for school-community activities for holidays and special events; soliciting services and goods for the class from publishers, civic leaders, etc.

3. Interactional Function--"Do you know..."

The activities for this function must be based on observation of a close friendship or sibling relationship. The basis of language expansion in this area is found in street and home domains. It is important to develop communications that are shared by close association; this may require careful monitoring so the teacher is not perceived as "snooping or meddling."

Language may, at this level, include and encourage ideosyncratic speech patterns.

Example:

Two close friends or siblings are taught to use secret codes for exchanging messages. The language of the message is determined by the students; if they need help communicating they may ask the teacher to intervene. Letters to relatives far away may be encouraged, or notes that may help the parents: social services, invitations, health services, etc.

4. Personal Function--"I feel..."

Activities for enabling a child to better express freely his/her inner feelings must be a regular part of the classroom. They should not be one-shot, but rather an on-going group interaction that will guarantee the easy, natural participation of the students.

Example:

Group discussions of people's values, beliefs, dreams and aspirations and of how best to communicate them, plan for them, and attain them. Students can choose the issues that they will discuss during such periods. Discussions include:

- group objectives;
- activities to meet individual objectives within the group;
- expression of interests;
- activities to develop skills in communicating within a group.

5. Heuristic Function--"Tell me why..."

The use of language to acquire knowledge and information is essential in all human activities. The need for an explanation of phenomena that are unknown, foreign, or unclear is basic in all human beings. Since effective communication must have meaning to the receiving party, the teacher's role in making sure that students understand the information is crucial. Regular periods must be set aside for dealing with alternative ways of making information meaningful to students and of stimulating inquiries from them. If teachers can teach students to say where it is that they are losing meaning (or comprehension) teaching this function will be much easier. Activities that will intrigue and rouse curiosity in students will elicit the "tell me why it works this way" or "tell me why I can't do it."

Example:

There are many math, physical science and social science activities that will generate plenty of inquiry questions. An electromagnet: "Tell me why sometimes it holds metal things" A puzzle: "Tell me how it does that." Mix colored chemicals that turn the glass clear: "Tell me...", etc. Centers can be set up to identify and inquire into problems that have always plagued and puzzled humanity, such as perpetual motion, doubling a square, etc. Emphasis in all these is on communication for learning.

6. Imaginative Function--"What if..."

Activities that will stimulate creativity should be based on themes and materials that give students a chance to experiment. The difficulty lies in the teacher seeing possibilities in materials and situations that are common but convertible into non-convential uses; this will not pose problems for students if allowed to be creative. "What if the table married the chair? Tell me their story." Emphasis should be on language use to express the connections, significances, and imports of things seen or imagined.

English as a Second Language

Ensuring that Lau students develop English language proficiencies is a fundamental goal of all bilingual education mandates. Consequently, a great deal of emphasis is placed on teaching English as a second language (ESL). While Office for Civil Rights guidelines specify that ESL alone is not sufficient to meet the educational needs of LES/NES students in the primary grades, it is usually a component of bilingual education programs.[9] In the secondary grades ESL may be used alone for LES/NES students whose academic skills are already developed in another language.

Although there are several methods for second language instruction, we would like to recommend the use of techniques presently incorporated in High Intensity Language Programs (HILT) developed in 1969 for language training programs in California Teacher Corps. HILT materials for Spanish language instruction were developed at that time for Teacher Corps rural-migrant interns by Rosa Kestelman and Susana Maiztegui. Although this particular HILT format was intended for total immersion programs which lasted between four and five weeks

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and although students in HILT have generally been adults (teachers, teacher-aides, university students and parents), the Kestelman-Maiztegui approach incorporates a number of techniques which we would like to recommend for second language instruction in the public schools. HILT programs seek to develop a limited working proficiency in the second language, enabling the student to score between S-1+ or S-2 on the language rating scales developed by the Foreign Service Institute. We are not, however, recommending full immersion HILT programs for students in primary schools since we believe quite strongly that all students have the right to develop cognitive skills in their primary language. At the secondary level, with students who have received instruction in their primary language in their country of origin, a HILT program might be useful. For the primary school level, techniques presently used in HILT could be incorporated into ESL classes. No Kestelman-Maiztegui materials exist for the teaching of English in second language classes. However, we are more interested in having teachers become acquainted with their HILT techniques than with selling any commercial product.

The HILT materials developed by Kestelman and Maiztegui provide language patterns and vocabulary which are interesting, realistic and relevant to school personnel and which allow for school-home-community-parent-student-teacher communication. In developing their own ESL materials, teachers or

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resource personnel should prepare lessons which are indispensable, practical and relevant to classroom experiences as well as to content areas covered in the primary language. Since communication always accompanies manipulation of language structures, it is of utmost importance that the second language teacher always introduce a pattern by conveying its meaning. Patterns are thus always first introduced through audio-visual materials or through RAMS (Respuesta Audio-Motora) or Audio-motor responses.

RAM (Audio-motor response): The technique used here consists of having the students listen to a command in the second language and immediately imitate the physical action performed by the teacher. Thus, listening fluency, familiarity with a new system of phonology, is stressed before speech production in the new language is required. Teachers and students do not have to attempt to teach and learn both listening and speaking skills almost simultaneously as in the audio-lingual method. Through these total physical response exercises, the teacher is thus able to introduce structures and vocabulary which the student will later learn to produce orally. Obviously not all verbal actions or events can be behaviorized but often even these can be incorporated as subordinate clauses introduced by a command.

Ciclos (Cycles): Once meaning and patterns have been introduced through RAMS or other audio-visual techniques, the teacher introduces short dialogues in the micro-wave format to develop speech fluency. This format is based on the concept that it is possible to give language students material which is controlled and at the same time immediately usable for communication. Each cycle begins with the introduction of new materials and ends--after a short time span devoted to mimicry and memorization --in the use of that material in actual conversation.

The cycles also include oral drills which supplement the grammatical points introduced in the cycles. Although the student manipulates grammatical elements in these drills, these are always followed by their use in real communicative exchange.

This HILT approach also includes exercises which introduce additional vocabulary through the manipulation of high frequency true cognates from the main vocabulary of the students. Most of the cognates are easily recognized by the student and since they are introduced in structures already presented, the student will not find it difficult to understand these sentences.

Another component of HILT enables the student to learn the RAMS first introduced for the development of listening comprehension skills and transfer that knowledge into oral production of the commands as well as into syntactic transformations.

A final component is a Practique y Platique (Practice and Talk) exercise book. Here the student is requested to write his own dialogue following a scheme. The dialogue is made up of six lines only, none of which are new to the student, since two lines belong to the cycle he has just learned and the other four to previous cycles. This component would only be used where students were already writing in their primary language. Students would be writing from the beginning what they could already produce orally.

Proper use of the HILT approach would undoubtedly require orientation and proper training but it would be important for personnel dedicated to the training of second language instructors to become acquainted with these techniques to facilitate their implementation in the public schools.

Samples of the presentation of these techniques for Spanish language instruction can be found in the HILT materials prepared by Rosa Kastelman and Susana Maiztequi. These are available through the Pepperdine University Bookstore in Los Angeles.

LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

Under this general heading we will make a few brief points about structure, student grouping, and scheduling as factors in educational programs for Lau students. Given any bilingual program's concern with language acquisition and development, the learning environment with which it will be concerned is as broad as the students' whole school experience. Indeed, educators' concern for understanding Lau students' learning environment should not stop at the "No Loitering" signs at the school property limits. Knowing the students' "outside" environment is necessary in order to make the "inside" compatible with it.

Structure

The classroom is obviously an important part of Lau students' learning environment. A good bilingual program classroom is one in which learning can take place, where language and cognition can develop, and where affective and motivational needs can find nourishment. These are all events; a good bilingual classroom is an active one where these things happen. This does not mean there is no order, no control, no planning. The classroom structure can range from traditional to the so-called "unstructured"; but even while encouraging open classroom, David Hawkins (The Open Classroom Reader) points out that:

> ...there is an essential lack of predictability about what's going to happen in a good classroom, not because there is not control, but precisely because the teacher is basing his decisions on observations of the actual children in their actual situation, their actual problems, their actual interests and the accidental things that happen along the way that nobody can anticipate. A power-shovel moves in next door to the school: this throws all your plans for studying batteries and bulbs into a cocked hat--or should! But you say, there are many aspects to science and this is also part of the curriculum. You can't anticipate those things. Everyone knows that the best times in teaching have always been the consequences of some little accident that happened to direct attention in some way, to revitalize an old interest which has dried out or to create a brand new interest that you hadn't had any notion about how to introduce.[10]

Bilingual classroom structure, whatever its ultimate form, needs to be thought of more in terms of activities to be fostered and not as much in terms of fragments of knowledge to be warehoused in students' minds. Lau students need as many options for stimulation and response as it is possible to give them. Goals and strategies need careful thought to ensure that they serve heuristic functions, but the process for their achievement must be flexible enough to respond to the unexpected. It should, in short, be unpredictable.

The above should not be taken to mean that all students will do their best in the class where structure is the least visible and least predictable. Students assessed as A & B, for example, may be coming into the school from a culture in which classrooms are highly structured and tightly disciplined. In that situation, of course, the students understood the rules and had the skills and knowledge to function with relative comfort. Here, faced already with new sights, sounds and institutions, it may be beneficial to introduce them into bilingual classrooms structured on the self-contained rather than the open model; that is, with a clear distinction between teacher and students and with all students doing the same things at the same time. When the rules of this new school situation are understood the students can be integrated into more open and flexible classroom arranged to reinforce language distinction. Too, the room may be divided, with all activities in one half taking place in one language and related to one culture.

Code-switching will remain a natural and useful communication variety for certain language groups and social domains. The point is not to prohibit or demean it, but to ensure that students also learn single language expression suitable to other situations and social domains. The object always is the expansion of students' linguistic and cognitive repertoires, not their replacement. In fact, when teaching the functions of language in the various domains, especially in social situations where informality is required, the uses and function of code-switching itself will sometimes be appropriate.

Grouping

The grouping of students to create segregated classrooms is prohibited by law. We will not present those legal requirements and restrictions here, but only note them. We are interested here in some basic considerations for increasing the linguistic and cognitive development of Lau students.

As we have already seen, there are a fairly large number of possible bilingual program models and a range of possible classroom structures. The choices made by school and teacher about these will inevitably have strong implications for the grouping of students. In a single-language (other than English) transitional program with traditional graded classrooms, for example, there will obviously be little opportunity for cross-grade, cross-achievement level, cross-language grouping--at least, not as a controlled teaching strategy. Even in such a program, however, there are more or less formal and informal situations that can be controlled in terms of grouping and seating arrangements. School professionals should consider this question in terms of three objectives:

- Maximizing the learning and teaching effectiveness of content area study;
- Maximizing the opportunities for natural-language student/student and student/teacher exchange for linguistic and cognitive skill transfer;
- Avoiding the formation of language cliques and consequent encouragement of elites to form negative attitudes toward one language or the other.

For content area learning, much will depend on the teachers' sensitivity to individual student characteristics. The well-known desirability of a sufficient learners-group homogeneity to avoid some students being left in the dark while others are bored to exclusion is as applicable in a bilingual classroom as any other. The variables here, though, are more complex. For example, in a math period taught in English a grouping of A students with math background and B students without it could hardly deal equally with the math concepts. "A" category students with developed math skills might well keep up--or more than keep up--with E students. And in the process transfer their already developed skills into an expanding English repertoire. On the other hand, C students with some developed math skills might well drop out--physically or psychologically--from a math group geared to teach students with no math skills the concept of numeration. Teachers, therefore, must know enough about their students to make pragmatic judgments for grouping them for content study so that groups are composed, in fact, of those who can learn together at the level being taught.

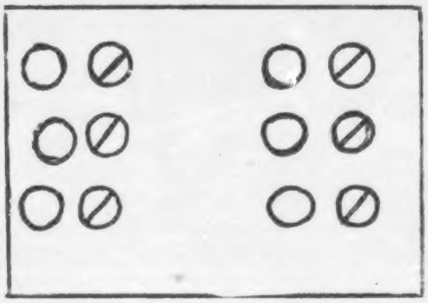
For maximizing natural language development, grouping should encourage cross-language and cross-level exchanges. Informal peer teaching is an important natural part in language acquisition; it can be made an element of the classroom environment as well as of the streets. Where formal seating assignments are made, whether for listening, discussion or group work, students should be mixed, not segregated, according to their language use. Three sample classroom seating arrangements are diagrammed below. Comparable arrangements can be made, of course, for learning centers, activities, etc.

The formation of language cliques must be avoided. Successful grouping in the terms already discussed will go a long way to prevent language clique formation by making it unnecessary. If classroom success is actually possible in either language, how can one language become symbolic of success? But we must recognize that academic achievement is certainly not the only criteria for classroom status--maybe not even the most important. Such studies as Pygmalion in the Classroom, in fact, seem to suggest the reality is the other way around: that is, achievement is somehow conferred on those students who are accorded high classroom status.[11] In any event, such factors as social and economic status are language-related outside the school and are often reflected within the school. Teachers who themselves reflect these status values may favor one language group and encourage the formation of language cliques. Strong language role models--teachers, aides, superior students--for speakers of each language are needed to combat the pressures to give one language status at the expense of the other. If these role models give equal respect to both languages, it will be easier for the students to do so.

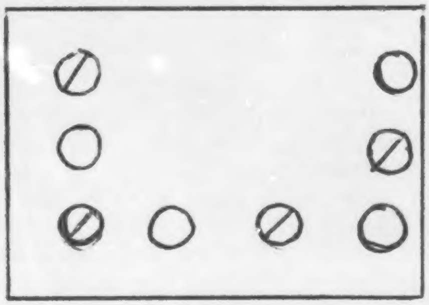
SEATING ARRANGEMENTS PROMOTING BILINGUAL INTERACTION.

○ X = Speaker of Language other than English

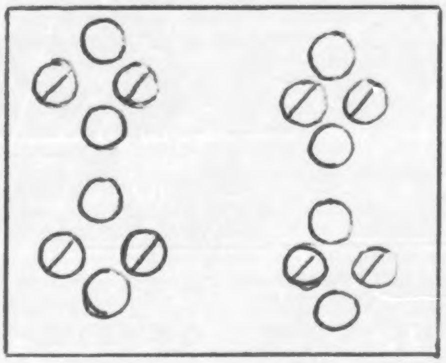
⊘ Y = Speaker of English



XY - XY



X - Y - X - Y



XX - YY - XX - YY

Many school activities are social and socializing as well as instructional. Physical education classes, art and drama periods, free study periods, story telling periods, lunch periods--as well as explicitly play periods--are partly social and of varying degrees of informality. It is especially in connection with such activities that the teacher should discourage the formation of language cliques by his or her own attitude example and by grouping techniques that oppose rather than foster it.

Scheduling

The variety and complexity of Lau student characteristics will, in any program seeking their individual development, create pressures in the direction of individualized instruction. It is not hard to foresee a point where efforts to deal individually with bilingual students threatens to disrupt traditional scheduling practices. An alternative is to abandon or modify traditional scheduling in favor of a more flexible system compatible with an individualized educational approach. Flexible scheduling approaches have been given a variety of names: modular, variable time, etc. These approaches share the assumptions that:

- Not all subjects need or deserve the same amount of time;
- Not all students need the same amount of time for a given subject;

- Not all subjects require the same amount of time from a given student;
- Students can profitably share in decision making about their learning; and
- Decisions about staff/student use of time should be curriculum decisions rather than administrative ones.

The school day is divided into time blocks of 15-30 minutes each. Activities are scheduled on a daily or weekly basis, in terms of time blocks, by student and teacher. A student who is behind in math might double a "normal" math schedule until caught up to grade level.

The following are typical of flexible scheduling systems:

- Schedules are set once a week, or even less, rather than once or twice a year;
- The duration of a class is determined by what is to be taught;
- Students and teachers meet, both in formal and informal groupings, outside of scheduled class times;
- Instruction becomes more and more individualized;
- Students can stay in a course until a desired grade is achieved; therefore, grade levels improve.

A flexible scheduling system may require extra work for teachers in the beginning and may require an adjustment period in which students learn to take responsibility. Unless the system requires students to schedule themselves into something for all time blocks, parent and community attitudes may be negative; they don't want their children in school free to do nothing. Where flexible systems have been given time to take hold, and where student participation has been ensured, it has usually been found that students take many more courses than in traditionally scheduled systems, and strong community support develops.

TEACHING STRATEGIES

Language assessment as proposed in this manual will permit a more specific prescription for Lau student needs than is common in most bilingual programs. Teachers need strategies that can capitalize on a deeper knowledge of Lau students and a greater appreciation of the skills they bring with them to school. In a strong, comprehensive bilingual education program, sensitive and flexible teaching strategies can actualize the program's intended impact on students. In a minimal program good teaching strategies can broaden students' opportunities for linguistic and cognitive development.

Classroom methods for implementing bilingual instruction are not very highly evolved--at least, not within most classrooms. Given the large numbers of teachers who do not share their students' language and culture, the ability to make educational decisions respecting students' needs is limited to the most general. Without detailed diagnostic information, classroom methodologies can only be developed in relatively simplistic and schematic ways. Those most commonly prescribed in California are described below.

Preview--Review

Step 1: A preview is first given to students in one language by an instructor who is a model in that language.

Step 2: The body of the lesson is then given by another instructor in the other language. This person is also a model in the language he/she is using as a medium of instruction.

Step 3: Finally, a review of the lesson is conducted. This can be accomplished by dividing the students into dominant language groups--each with a model instructor--or by maintaining a mixed language group and delivering the review in a concurrent approach.

Alternate Language Approach

Lessons are delivered one day (or at one time) in one language and then another day (or at another time) in the other language. It is important to note that only one language is used at a time and the same lesson is often delivered twice, once in each language.

Bilingual Lesson Delivery Approaches

A. For primary language development in oral language and reading; language dominant grouping only.

B. For concept development in such areas as mathematics and multicultural education, one of the following: language-dominant grouping, preview-review, alternate language, and concurrent or other approaches of equally demonstrable effectiveness.

Concurrent Method

During lessons, two languages are used alternately for dual-language presentation or instruction. Special care is taken to avoid direct translation. One person may deliver the lessons using both languages, or two individuals may each use a different language.

Two elements of major importance to the success of bilingual instruction programs are not addressed explicitly by any of the common bilingual approaches described above: 1) motivation for learning, which is intimately connected with questions of self and group identity, self expectations, etc; and 2) positive opportunity for transfer of linguistic and cognitive skills from one language and one domain to another. This is not to suggest that teachers cannot develop these elements within these classroom methods, but that additional teaching strategies are needed.

We have emphasized repeatedly the close connection between language and cognition and the value of natural language exposure for language acquisition and development. The more closely language use is connected to students' real life concerns, the more they can experience language as a developing tool for articulating and exploring those concerns, the more naturally will they be motivated to learn. The more that subject areas are connected to students' reality the stronger will be their motivation to learn. And the more that subject areas are related to each other in ways that appear real to the students the more easily and effectively can cognitive skills be transferred from one area to assist development of another. Linguistic skills, internalized as language has served as the vehicle for learning a particular content, can be transferred and expanded in other related content areas. For example, the concept of "heat" and "degrees" of temperature learned in a Science class might be transferred in Language Arts to a metaphor of warmth for love; coolness for indifference. Then in Geography, temperature becomes a factor in climatic environment while in Art, warmth and coolness become color values (warm reds; cool blues).

Teachers need strategies to deal explicitly with these elements. At their root, the strategies needed are those that can find and make connections between the students' reality and the schools' learning processes. It is hoped that in the following pages, teachers will find encouragement for trying new strategies and for developing their own.

The Ashton-Warner Literacy Method

This method was developed in New Zealand by teacher and writer Sylvia Ashton-Warner to teach reading and writing to very young Maori children in a mixed (Maori and Anglo--New Zealand) classroom.[12] In her book Teacher, Sylvia Ashton-Warner notes characteristics of the Maori children's situation that have clear parallels in that of many Lau students--particularly younger A & B children--in U.S. public schools.

- The school represented an alien and dominant culture.
- Teachers represented the dominant culture and assumed literacy an essential tool for coping effectively with the larger society.
- Success in school represented a successful cross-cultural bridging.
- School materials bore little relevancy to Maori students' own cultural reality.

Yet, Sylvia Ashton-Warner was successful in teaching Maori children to read. Her method? Finding out what each child cared about, was concerned about, was afraid of, dreamed of and relating those concerns to the school's world of literacy. How? She got the children to express those concerns, the realities of their inner-worlds in words. Now, a word can be written as well as spoken. A written word can be kept physically, it can be read, and it can be shared. Her method begins simply: each student is asked what word he or she wants to learn. That word is written on a card and given to the student, whose physical and psychological property it becomes. Later, the student writes it in a personal notebook; later still, the student writes it on the blackboard for all to share. Ashton-Warner says of this process:

> Pleasant words won't do. Respectable words won't do. They must be words organically tied up, organically born from the dynamic life itself. They must be words that are already part of the child's being ...No time is too long spent talking to a child to find out his key words, the key that unlocks himself, for in them is the secret of reading, the realization that words can have intense meaning. Words having no emotional significance to him, no instinctive meaning, could be an imposition, doing him more harm than not teaching him at all. They may teach him that words mean nothing, and that reading is undesirable.[13]

Key vocabulary words are accumulated until students can begin to write sentences, then stories. Eventually, students will have written their own reading primers.

> Not only do you enter the words they ask for at the back of their books, but, bearing in mind the reading of them afterwards, you watch the spacing of the words for better legibility, carefully oversee the grammar, and, above all, nurture the continuity of their thoughts.[14]

The role of the teacher is to facilitate the connection of the school's literacy to the students' reality and to teach them how to use literacy. The teacher expands the students' repertoire of expressive and communicative skills--without seeking to supplant the child's own reality.

> Key vocabulary is a one-word caption of the inner world; creative writing is a sentence-length or story-length caption.[15]

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This approach is very different from that which assumes Lau students really to be empty inside and through imposed words, pictures and stories seeks to fill the void. It is different, and it works.

Thematic Learning

The concept of thematic learning has been advanced and practiced by many. As in the Ashton-Warner method, the goal is to integrate subject study with the students' own concerns --and to integrate the learning of different subjects so that maximum cognitive transfer is encouraged. A theme drawn from the students' interest serves both integrating functions. Herbert Kohl for example, lists eleven social and individual factors of everyday reality that can be examined in terms of students' own concerns and which can be dealt with in mathematical terms for the learning of that subject.[16] Any one of the eleven could become a theme, not only for the study of math but everything from geography, sociology, economics, mechanics, design, value classification and *ad infinitum*. Further, the teacher/student involvement in developing a theme encourages dialogue and the development of critical thinking abilities. Consider the possibilities in the following:

1. *The way people locate themselves and others in space*, through the territory they claim both within their homes and their community...

2. People moving around, getting from one place to another by foot or train, bus, car, or plane.
3. Locating oneself and others in time. Work hours, the moral issue of being on time, birthdays, anniversaries, holidays...
4. Family relationships. How many relatives do people have? How many generations back can they project? How many cousins, second cousins, aunts, uncles can they name?...How can family trees be diagrammed?, etc...
5. Sharing. What resources in the community are shared? What is the child's share, the mother's, father's, relative's, friend's? How are things shared or budgeted? What fraction (or percentage of the resources available are used in what way?
6. Accumulating. What is saved or hoarded instead of shared? How is it done, how are resources counted, what are they weighed or measured against?...
7. Exchanging. How are things traded? How is value set? How many dolls are worth one bike? How are trading cards accumulated or exchanged? How do you weigh goods, balance them against one another?...
8. Gambling. How is fate dealt with? How are odds set? Why gamble? What is there to lose or gain? What gambling strategies do people use? Do you know anybody who has some?

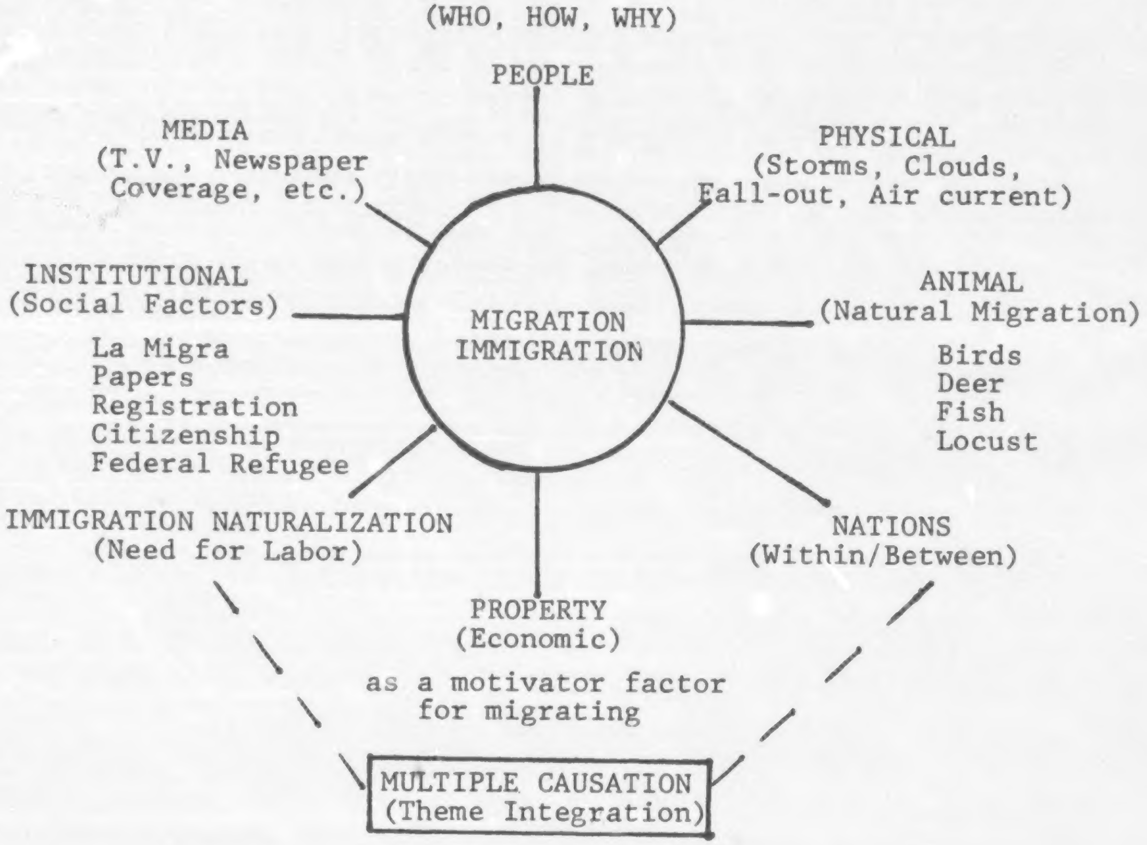
9. Making, building, and fixing. How do people in the community make clothes, build houses, fix plumbing, paint, plaster, rewire an apartment? What can you build yourself and what do you need help with from outside the community?

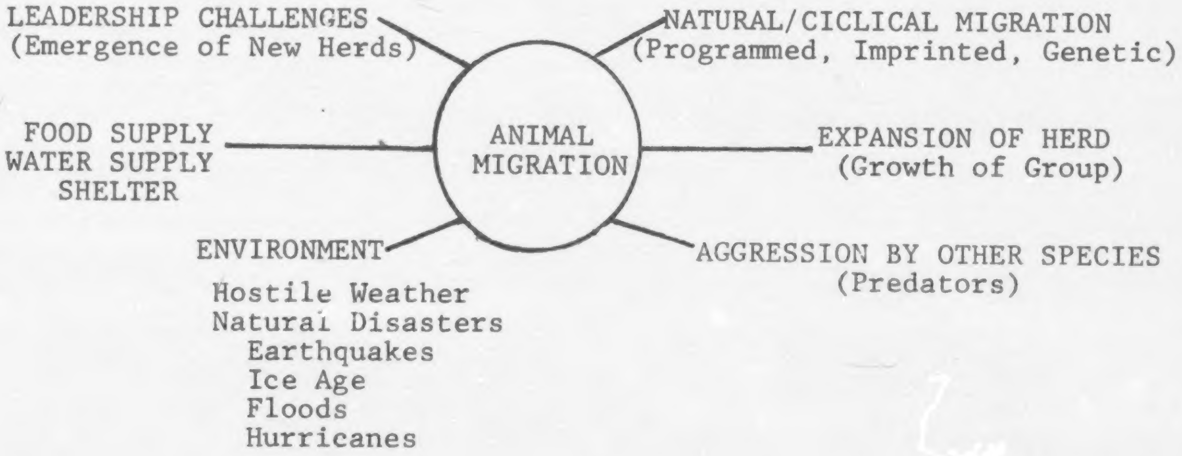
10. Dealing with machines. What machines do you come in contact with every day?...Is technology beyond the understanding of most people or is knowledge withheld deliberately to keep people with little power awed?...

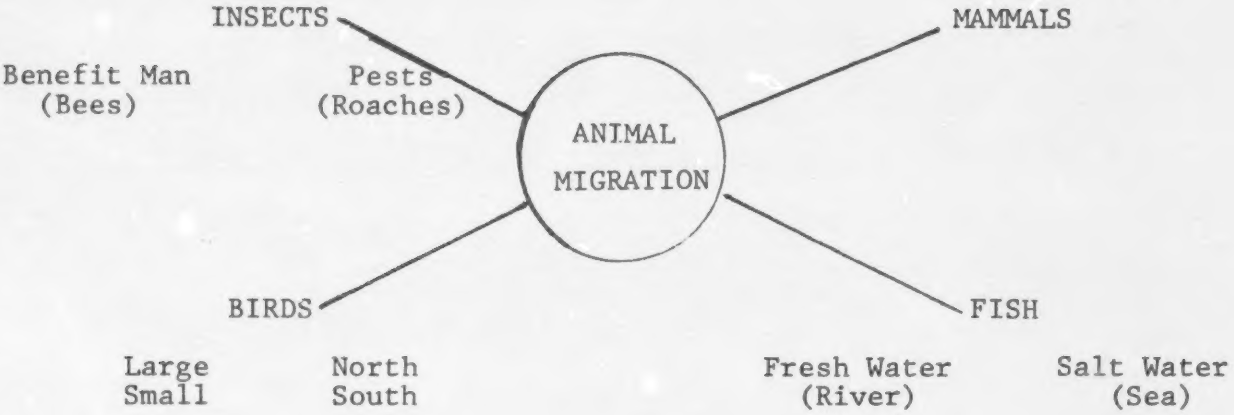
11. Curiosity about numbers and relationships as abstractions. What puzzles do people set for each other or try to solve? How does one go about exploring thoroughly unfamiliar materials, trying to solve traditional puzzles or paradoxes?[17]

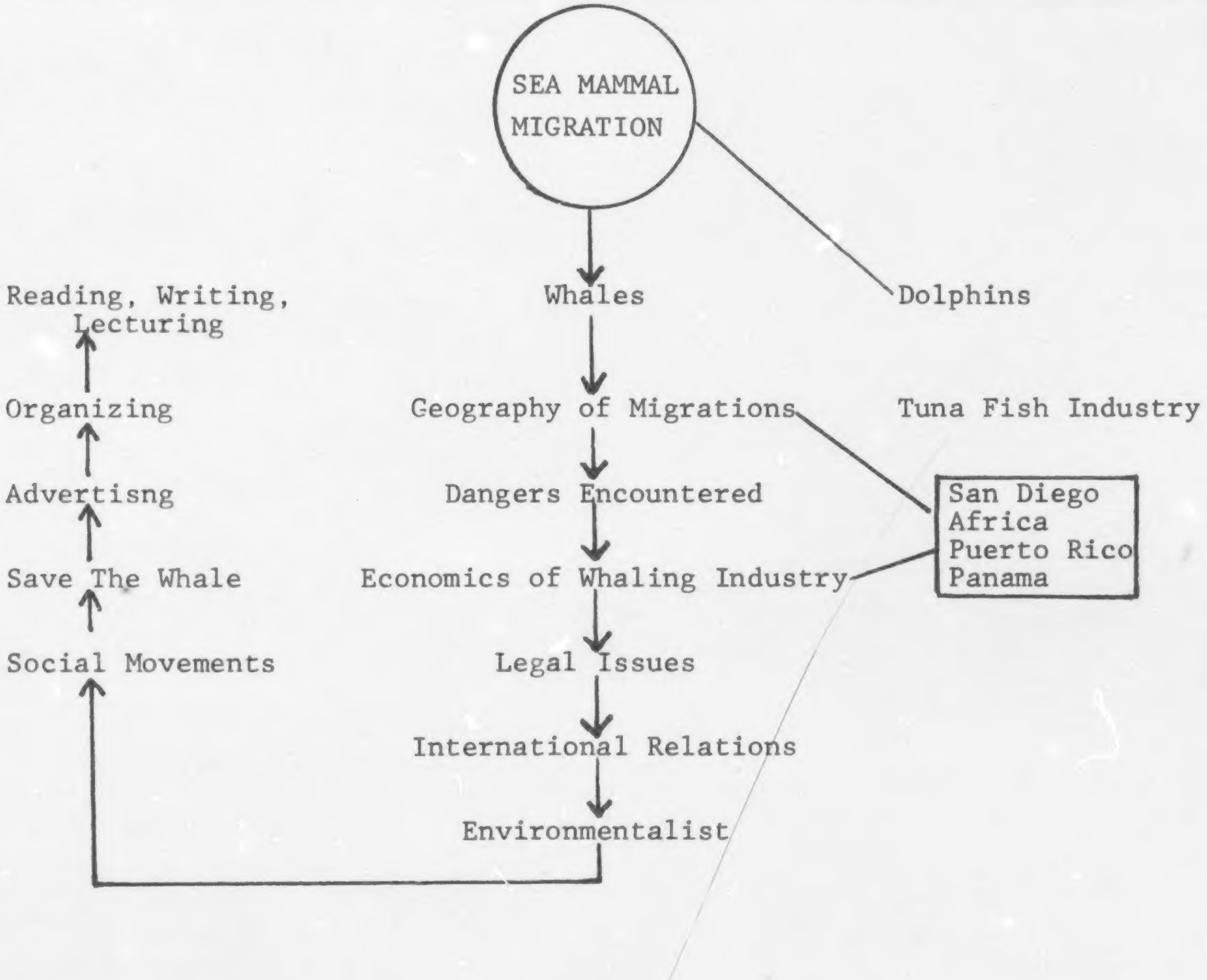
A thematic learning approach makes it easy to gear teaching to the different cognitive and maturity levels of a bilingual class. In fact, if the theme is truly being developed in response to student concerns and in dialogue it can't do anything else. Further, this approach can easily allow for a wide variety of forms through which students can express what they learn. Oral reports, written reports, art projects, mechanical projects, etc., can be chosen or assigned so that learning about something becomes also learning to do something. If (to return to the list) an interest in "People Moving Around" leads one student to deal with the history of transportation by researching and writing a report on 19th Century railroad advertising, while another student builds a model ship, while a group of four others report on the local transit company's proposal to raise fares--and all are helped to develop necessary skills to carry out their projects--how much real learning might be stimulated?

Thematic learning approaches do not avoid or preclude teacher planning. Thematic interest must be elicited and it must be organized. These generate sub-themes, each of which will touch on many skills, areas of knowledge, questions for thought. The following series of diagrams demonstrate how, and in what variety, a single-topic theme can be developed. The topic/theme, Migration, includes Animal Migration. Animal Migration can be developed in causal terms and in terms of types of animals that migrate. Types, including Sea Mammals, lead to economic versus environmental concerns, conflict of interest resolution in a democracy, methods of persuasion and, finally (in this diagram) back to elements of effective writing. It is hard to imagine an aspect of education that could not be developed in pursuit of this theme--if it connects to student concerns. As with the Ashton-Warner method, the teacher has a responsibility for eliciting and recognizing student concerns.


(WHO, HOW, WHY)
PEOPLE
MEDIA
(T.V., Newspaper
Coverage, etc.)
PHYSICAL
(Storms, Clouds,
Fall-out, Air current)
INSTITUTIONAL
(Social Factors)
La Migra
Papers
Registration
Citizenship
Federal Refugee
MIGRATION
IMMIGRATION
ANIMAL
(Natural Migration)
Birds
Deer
Fish
Locust
IMMIGRATION NATURALIZATION
(Need for Labor)
NATIONS
(Within/Between)
PROPERTY
(Economic)
as a motivator factor
for migrating
MULTIPLE CAUSATION
(Theme Integration)


LEADERSHIP CHALLENGES
(Emergence of New Herds)
NATURAL/CICLICAL MIGRATION
(Programmed, Imprinted, Genetic)
FOOD SUPPLY
WATER SUPPLY
SHELTER
ANIMAL
MIGRATION
EXPANSION OF HERD
(Growth of Group)
ENVIRONMENT
Hostile Weather
Natural Disasters
Earthquakes
Ice Age
Floods
Hurricanes
AGGRESSION BY OTHER SPECIES
(Predators)


INSECTS
MAMMALS
Benefit Man
(Bees)
Pests
(Roaches)
ANIMAL
MIGRATION
BIRDS
FISH
Large
Small
North
South
Fresh Water
(River)
Salt Water
(Sea)


SEA MAMMAL
MIGRATION
Whales
Dolphins
Reading, Writing,
Lecturing
Organizing
Advertisng
Save The Whale
Social Movements
Geography of Migrations
Dangers Encountered
Economics of Whaling Industry
Legal Issues
International Relations
Environmentalist
Tuna Fish Industry
San Diego
Africa
Puerto Rico
Panama

Problem Posing

Paulo Freire, noted educator from Brazil, developed a teaching/learning methodology to teach literacy to rural, poor, adults.[18] His work seems particularly relevant at this point because of its bearing on the question of how a teacher can elicit or generate themes that are of genuine concern to students. Freire found that "traditional" methods had little success. The characteristics of his students' situation could be described by paraphrasing as used earlier to describe that of Ashton-Warner's Maori students.

-- The literacy program represented an alien and dominant culture.

-- Teachers represented the dominant culture and considered literacy a necessary tool for relating to the more powerful society.

-- Success in the program represented a successful cross-cultural adjustment.

-- Program content bore little relevancy to students' own reality.

Freire's point of view is that students dominated by an alien culture are oppressed and that the school or program is an agent of that oppression. He sees traditional education as employing a "banking system" through which the dominant group's values, plus increments of knowledge the dominant group considers useful, are "deposited" by teachers into the minds of oppressed students. The "banking system" endows the teacher as active initiator, knowledge-possessing, authoritative and dominant, and the student as passive, receptive follower, meek and the "object" of the teaching process. This picture is quite like that of many school professionals in the U.S. as they see themselves and the school system in relation to Lau students. This "banking system" is not very well calculated to strengthen positive self-identity, a sense of connectedness, or a student's sense of power. To the extent that the student/teacher relationship within a "banking system" is in fact oppressive, the best a student can do is to resist the deposits.

Freire proposes an alternative model: problem posing. To change the alienated and oppressive relationship between student and teacher, and student and educational program, Freire recognizes that students must experience themselves as actual and potential makers of culture; that the relative value of different skills, different kinds of knowledge, must not be imposed by a teacher who is the agent of an alien group; that learning must be an active process in response to student-perceived needs and problems. Freire's approach, logically, concentrates on encouraging and facilitating a process by which students pose the problems of real concern to themselves. In Freire's adult literacy program, the problems posed generated subject material for reading and writing; in the context of educational programs for Lau students the problems posed can identify themes of genuine concern to students: themes on which a multi-subject curriculum can be based, as described earlier. To illustrate the problem posing approach in practical terms, we will describe briefly one attempt to put it into practice.

In the summer of 1975, the San Diego City Schools sponsored a ten-week educational program for Chicano students in grades K-6. Called the Cultural Heritage Educational Program (CHEP), the summer program sought to reinforce basic skills through a cultural heritage experience. Freire's problem posing approach was chosen as the instructional model. A conscious decision was made by staff and teachers to abandon the "banking" approach and to meet the students in equal dialogue and without coercion. Staff and teachers were sensitive to and knowledgeable about the students' culture and community.

Enlarged photographs of a local home, the public school and a neighborhood scene (including the local bakery and a store) were displayed in the activities center for a week. During this time students recognized and commented on different elements of the photographs. After the week-long exposure the students played a variation of the "Complain, Moan and Groan Game," developed by the Western Behavioral Science Institute (La Jolla, California). For this game, each student was given three tickets labelled respectively Home, School, and Neighborhood. Three tables manned by fluent Spanish/English bilinguals were set up and correspondingly designated Home, School and Neighborhood. The students "spent" their tickets to "buy" time to register complaints. The process was fairly formal: students approached the tables, took seats and presented their tickets. The adult manning a complaint table would enter the student's name and personal data on a form and respectfully listen to and record the complaint. Every effort was made to limit adult participation to questions that would encourage clarification or expansion of the students' concern. Conscious effort was made to avoid coercion or steering of students' complaints toward or away from any area or form of concern. A few excerpts reveal the activity's success in eliciting expression of students' concerns.[19]

Home

> I don't like my house because we live in a trailer. My room is really small: hot. I have the smallest room. Three kids and my mom. I like to live in a big house and have a maid, so she can clean the kitchen because it's messy. Not enough room. We lived in Japan one year and we had a maid.[20]
>
> In my house when you want to open the window you have to use a screwdriver...We have roaches. Once a rat ran across my feet. It's not fair! It does bother me. I get scared. It bothers me a lot. And then those people over there, living in those nice houses (in La Jolla)...[21]
>
> I was born in Arizona, only thing is that the cooler was in the room where my brother was asleep, there was a short and the house burned down. That's why we moved here.[22]

Neighborhood

> I don't like when friends try to beat me up.[23]
>
> Not enough stores. Not enough young people live around me. Not enough shade trees. Skinny old trees outside. You have to travel two miles to the nearest recreation. Not enough friends. The friends I have live far off; have to take time on weekends to go see them.[24]

I don't like policemen, they fine my uncles and friends. I feel sorry because they have to spend their money. I don't like the smell of garbage. I don't like the noise from the freeway, at night I can hardly rest.[25]

The cars go too fast and can squash us...There is a lot of mud around and people fall down.[26]

I don't like the store in the picture because they sell beer.[27]

I don't like that there have been three car accidents. My cousin was run over, but she was lucky. A boy was in the hospital ten days; they ran over his leg. He was eight. This happened twice to the same boy. Another boy died. My cousin was run over, she was four years old. She died. My aunt cried alot. She has a picture of her and when she sees any of us she starts to cry again. She went to have a baby, she wanted a girl but it could not be. My little brother almost got run over by a car. There was a man that was walking and a car ran him over and all his guts were hanging out. My cousin was thrown out of the house they were living in. They went to live in a building; that's why she got run over, there were too many cars. I don't like it, because when somebody dies, how the mother suffers! She sees someone who looks like the person that died and cries alot. I have seen four deaths. My girlfriend was also run over. I don't like my neighbors and my friends to fight. Once a girl pushed another girl and she fell and her skin came off her face. A friend went to get a ball and they ran over her. If we are playing and the ball gets away, let someone else go get it.[28]

School

The principal always makes us pick up the papers. My teacher screams alot.[29]

What I do not like about school are the games and the toys. They do not teach, its just strictly toys! In the first grade they did not teach me anything; they wanted people to play and not learn anything and only speak nonsense.[30]

> I don't like the teacher. She gives me swats. The teacher yells at me. She is a bore.[31]
>
> The big boys like to fight. Some kids fight and then blame me. They take me to the principal's office. The principal would hit me with a ruler.[32]
>
> I don't like that kids fight. I don't like for them to push me.[33]
>
> Ms. _______ would make us put six books on our head. If they would drop, she would make us stay after school. If you laughed or said anything she would put more books, and sometimes she would tape your mouth. After school your mouth would be red. She never did it to her kids. Her kids were in the same classroom. She would listen to them but not to other kids.[34]
>
> If a student can't read, everyone has to stay in, even during recess, until he learns. I get angry and leave the room.[35]
>
> The principal we have now, he don't hardly listen to us. He never has time. If you say "Hi!" to him, he don't say nothing, he'll just go on walking. This happens all the time. When he talks to you, he talks like he's the big boss. His teeth are always closed when he talks to you. The teachers and the principal think that they listen to us. They say "O.K."[36]

After they had articulated their concerns, the students were able to dialogue with each other and with the teachers with relative ease about their experience of school, home, and neighborhood. From these discussions several problems were identified that the students decided to address: traffic safety, adjusting to urban life, and the summer program's own lunch program. Committees of interested students were formed to study each problem; the committees became, for practical purposes, work/study groups. Each problem posed served as the integrating theme for learning about a variety of subject areas. Even as apparently unpromising a problem/theme as the School Lunch turned out to have possibilities for learning undreamed of by the program teachers. And here a crucial element of the problem posing approach must be stressed: the teacher must honor the contract of equality that has been offered the students. In the case of the "lunch problem" the teacher's own crisis over this point nearly defeated the whole process before it was really begun. A closer look at what happened can be instructive.

The staff were pleased with the success of the Groan Game and moved by the concerns expressed by the children: concerns which, when analyzed, revealed the prevalence of fear, of violence, of loneliness in the lived experience of the students. It seemed a let-down when the student group discussing school issues decided that the "problem" they were concerned about was the quality of their daily lunch. The milk was usually warm, they said, and the sandwiches skimpy, often soggy. The catering truck came late. The teacher found it hard to believe in the problem's validity as an issue, as the basis for an action project, or as an integrating theme for education. Discussion in the group changed from dialogue between students and teacher addressing a common question to diplomatic persuasion by the teacher seeking to substitute a "better" problem than the one the student's had posed. The teacher was reluctant to impose another problem; she wanted to sell it. Finally, the teacher decided to accomplish her ends by letting the students prove to themselves the "unsoundness" of their concern. The teacher saw things quite clearly: the school lunch appeared, somehow, at more or less the appropriate time, by some vague process that was part of the System. The process and the food were Institutional: part of the Way Things Are. No one really expects institutional lunches to be anything else. The students weren't grappling with a problem; they wanted to gripe about The Way Things Are. So let them see for themselves.

"Alright," she told them, "You talk about it for awhile. You tell me how we can tackle your problem. If you can't, we'll find another problem, O.K.?"

Then she went away for a while. When she came back the students had talked about it. They asked her, "Who is responsible for the lunches we get?"

The District Offices; the State; the Federal Government; Authority; the System. The teacher didn't know.

"We want to find out who is responsible for our lunches."

A concrete enough problem, certainly. So teacher and student group went ahead with the "lunch problem" they had posed. They wrote letters, made phone calls, read letters, made records of phone calls and phone responses. All good for reading skills, writing skills, oral communication skills. And, tracing their lunches from catering truck through school system offices, subcontractor, contractor and to the State contracts office, they learned about public administration. They got a copy of the catering contract and puzzled out the information buried in its clauses. They figured out--accurately and defensibly--the taxpayers' cost per lunch that came in the catering truck. All good for math skills. They kept close records of actual service received from the subcontractor. They counted sandwiches and tested milk temperatures; they analyzed sandwiches and did cost computations. They compared their findings with contract specifications and convinced themselves that there was a significant discrepancy. They sought and found the prescribed channels for registering concern and complaint; used those channels; and they learned something about the Way Things Are. Just like in the schools where, as one student had said in his School Table complaint,

> When you tell the teacher something they don't even listen and they don't do nothing. They say, "I'll take care of it," but they don't do anything.[37]

But by now not only their skills had been sharpened, by now they knew that they could learn, that they could think, that they could understand. They had learned how their lunch came to them, not in theoretical but concrete terms connected to real names, places, and for concrete reasons: so much in money. They understood about overhead, production costs, sale price, gross income and profit. They reasoned about fair profit, cost cutting, cost chiseling, unfair profit and stealing. They decided they were being cheated on their lunches. And by the time they were convinced that no one along the established chain of responsibility was going to do anything, they came up with their own next step.

"We want to bring in the media," they told the teacher.

They wrote and got out a press release and planned a press conference. A local TV station agreed to attend. The students made posters, organized their facts, planned their presentation. (Good for Art, Speech, Writing, Math, Social Studies, Communication, Cultural Awareness, Leadership Training, Science, Economics, Geography, Critical Thinking). The local TV station sent a reporter and camera crew. So did the major networks. And the students held their conference. They presented their facts, made their allegations, answered reporter's questions. One reporter asked, "Who told you kids to say all this?" A nine year old girl answered, "We found this stuff out. Nobody had to tell us anything. You know, you adults give yourselves too much credit."

Later they were able to see themselves on TV--and to reflect on what happens in news editing. The summer program ended with, as its objectives had stated, student skills reinforced and student self-concepts strengthened. And with a group of K-6 Lau students who clearly understood how and why they had to eat skinny sandwiches and drink warm milk.

Other Strategies

Teachers need to develop the broadest possible repertoire of strategies and activities. The more heterogeneous - in terms of age, cultural background, language proficiency, etc. - the classroom is, the more a combination of alternative approaches is needed to provide maximal opportunity for language use and for cognitive development. Several useful strategies and activities are described briefly below. All will help toward individualized instruction. All encourage:

-- student/student interaction

-- the development of creativity

-- democratic living, learning and problem solving

-- the development of decision making and responsibility skills

-- cooperative learning

These all are factors which can materially enhance language learning and affective, as well as cognitive, development.

Peer teaching, or student teaching student, can be done informally within the classroom. In addition to the positive elements listed above, peer teaching is an especially useful strategy in bilingual/bicultural settings. When, for example, one student is helping another to understand math concepts, language skills for communication are exercised and developed in the most natural of ways. Self concepts of both the tutor and the student being helped can be strengthened; the tutor can experience success, and the other student can feel important and cared for. Students may volunteer to tutor others when they have mastered a skill or a concept. Students may request a tutor for a particular need. Or the teacher may work out a method of assigning tutorials. Where there is a mix of relative English language skills in the classroom, peer teaching can take advantage of students' developed skills to encourage the learning of English as a second language. This not only provides a valuable resource in the classroom, it can help to provide positive role models for students with no or little English skill.

Classroom committees can be formed to carry out activities and responsibilities that range from classroom care, to investigation of a topic of student concern, carrying out a creative or construction project, studying in a given work unit, or working on specific skills development. Use of committees will democratize the classroom and expand opportunities for developing cooperative learning and working skills. Experience of committee processes and procedures will itself develop skills in defining goals, summarizing and evaluating - all of which are important to critical thinking. The complexity of communication involved in making a committee or task group effort succeed will provide opportunity for motivated language skills development in a broad range of language functions. The experience of having a part in classroom planning, and of carrying out endeavors that are of value not only to the participants but to the other class members will help make school an integral part of each student's life experiences. Which means school will be experienced as relevant. And working on committee projects provides for individual differences, including the recognition of special skills or knowledge.

Simulation games represent real-world situations. Players usually are assigned roles and must behave according to role-limits within the game's "reality." Players make decisions and take actions that affect other players' circumstances or choices. Games can be very effective for introducting a topic; students' involvement as players can easily motivate further study. Blackburn and Powell (in *One At A Time All At Once*:...) list the following additional positive uses of simulation games, which:

- Encourage students to learn from each other.
- Provide opportunities for exploring the implications of socially acceptable and unacceptable behavior in a safe, nondestructive environment.
- Create laboratories for developing problem solving skills.
- Give students experience in making decisions and examining the implications of those decisions.
- Help students become active learners.
- Provide the teacher with pre-assessment data about individuals and groups. Values, ability to relate to others, problem-solving skills, and leadership skills are often readily observable in simulation games.
- Provide a feeling of realism often difficult to attain in a classroom when studying abstract subject matter. Complex problems are often easily understood by participating in simulation games.
- Help relate effective and cognitive learning.[38]

Simulation games are produced commercially and vary greatly in complexity. As with all commercially published materials, careful evaluation for bias and stereotyping is required.

Blackburn and Powell cite Dennis M. Adams, Simulation Games: An Approach to Learning as a source of descriptions, purposes and publishers of games.[39]

Especially when there is a classroom concentration of poor or minority students, whose reality is less likely to be found depicted in simulation games, it may be a valuable class or committee project to devise one. For example, a local community model created by students in keeping with their own perceptions might be used as the game environment; local figures identified by students can be defined in terms of role attributes; situations common or significantly anticipated by students can be recognized. Based on these elements, games can be devised. And, from one time to another, rules or conditions can be altered so that players recognize and learn to deal with situations as dynamic rather than static.

NOTES

1 *Task Force Findings Specifying Remedies Available for Eliminating Past Educational Practices Ruled Unlawful Under* Lau v. Nichols, Office for Civil Rights, Dept. of HEW, Washington, D.C., 1975.

2 *Education For All Handicapped Children*, Public Law 142, 94th Congress, 1975.

3 Kohl, Herbert R. *On Teaching*, Schocken Books, New York, New York, 1976.

4 *Ibid*

5 Spolsky, Bernard and Robert L. Cooper. Eds., *Frontiers of Bilingual Education*, Newberry House, Rowley, Mass. 1976.

6 *Ibid*

7 *Ibid*

8 Task Force Findings... *Op. Cit.*

9 *Ibid*

10 Hawkins, David. "The Importance of Unguided Exploration", in *The Open Classroom Reader*, Charles E. Silverman, ed. Vintage Books, New York, New York, 1963.

11 Rosenthal, R. and L. Jacobson. *Pygmalion in the Classroom* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.

12 Ashton-Warner, Sylvia. *Teacher*, Simon and Schuster, New York, New York, 1963.

13 *Ibid*

14 *Ibid*

15 *Ibid*

16 Kohl, *Op. Cit.*

17 *Ibid*

18 Brown, Cynthia. *Literacy in Thirty Hours: Paulo Freire's Process in North East Brazil.* Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative;London, 1975.

19 Rivera, David. "Child Concerns", unpublished study prepared for Institute for Cultural Pluralism, San Diego State University, 1977.

20 *Ibid*

21 *Ibid*

22 *Ibid*

23 *Ibid*

24 *Ibid*

25 *Ibid*

26 *Ibid*

27 *Ibid*

28 *Ibid*

29 *Ibid*

30 *Ibid*

31 *Ibid*

32 *Ibid*

33 *Ibid*

34 *Ibid*

35 *Ibid*

36 *Ibid*

37 *Ibid*

38 Blackburn, Jack E. and Conrad W. Powell. *One At A Time All At Once: The Creative Teacher's Guide to Individualized Instruction Without Anarchy*. Goodyear Publishing Co., Santa Monica, California, 1976.

39 Adams, Dennis M. *Simulation Games: An Approach to Learning* Charles A. Jones pub.; Worthington, Ohio, 1973.

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_____ Education For All Handicapped Children, Public Law 142, 94th Congress, 1975.

APPENDICES

A. Suggestions for Needs Assessment Instrument. 200

B. Language Assessment Inservice Training Needs of Teaching Staff 203

C. Sample Sociolinguistic Survey. 213

D. Integrated Thematic/Language/Concept Lesson Development. 217

APPENDIX A

SUGGESTIONS FOR NEEDS ASSESSMENT INSTRUMENT

1. Process for developing Needs Assessment Instrument
2. Suggested Areas to be covered:

   A. Information on Community Served

   - -Type of Language Situation: Monolingual, Bilingual, Trilingual
   - -Socio-economic-residential make-up of Community
   - -Pattern of Language Maintenance, Shift, Loss
   - -Historical Background of Community
   - -Language Varieties Spoken in Community

   B. Legal Information on Mandated Programs

   - -Federal statutes, legislation, regulations, Supreme Court Decisions: Title VI of Civil Rights Act, Lau vs. Nichols, Cintron vs. Brentwood, May 25 Memorandum, Lau Guidelines, Title VII, Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974
   - -State legislation, regulations, AB3470, AB 3408, AB 65
   - -Bilingual Teaching Certificate of Competence:
     - -Language Proficiency Requirement
     - -Linguistic Skills
     - -Methodology for Teaching in Primary Language
     - -Knowledge of Culture of Target Population
     - -Second Language Instruction Techniques

   C. Psyco-linguistic Rationale for Bilingual Education

   - -Theories on Language Learning: Behavioristic, Interactionist, Communicative Competence, Cultural-Relativist, Cognitive, Developmental, etc.
   - -Relation of Language and Cognition
   - -Process of Language Acquisition: first and second language

   D. Comprehension of Bilingual Education

   - -Types of Bilingual Education Programs:
     - -monoliterate vs. biliterate, transitional vs. maintenance, biliterate (partial) vs. biliterate (full or balanced)
   - -Language Assessment of Students:

-Lau categories of students, info on students to be served
-State classification of students; procedure, type of proficiency tested
-Assessment instruments available; criteria for selection; implications of each test
-Language components to be tested; syntax, phonology, morphology, vocabulary, semantics
-Language skills to be tested; listening, comprehension, reading, speaking, writing
-Testor skills required, scoring procedure
-Language functions tested; language involved
-Cognitive value of assessment questions
-Testing format; natural language, picture description??

E. Integration of Language and Content Areas:

-Development of linguistic-cognitive skills in math, biology, physical education, social science, etc.

F. Second Language Teaching Methodology and Techniques:

-Audio-lingual, total immersion, constructionist; total physical response, pattern practice drills, micro-wave format, repetition, translation, transference, transformation, dialogue, role playing, games, manipulation, and communication

G. Bilingual Education Approaches:

-Dual
-Concurrent
-Immersion
-Alternative Days, etc.

H. District - Community Participation

-Funding, allocations, soft-money plan, hard-money program
-Aides, use of aides, training of aides
-Bilingual education office at district level, resources available, possiblility of workshops, etc.
-Availability of trained bilingual personnel - teaching and non-teaching
-Information given non-teaching staff; incorporation into master plan
-Role, participation of parents and lay community persons

3. Format suggested:

   - -Multiple choice
   - -Fill-in the blank
   - -Matching
   - -Short answers, etc.

APPENDIX B

LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT INSTRUMENT TO DETERMINE INSERVICE NEEDS OF TEACHING STAFF

Please circle all appropriate answers (there may be more than one correct answer):

1. Given a 6 year old German student in the United States, which of the following approaches would be best to ensure cognitive development in the first grade:

   a) bilingual education program
   b) full submersion program in English
   c) intensive English as a second language immersion program
   d) regular English curriculum with some ESL instruction

2. Sentences like "John is easy to please," and "John is eager to please."

   a) have similar surface structures
   b) have similar underlying structures
   c) are derived from simple kernel sentences
   d) are derived through transformations of two underlying sentences

3. Which of the following sentences could be a case of language interference:

   a) It ain't no Black god doing that.
   b) I wanna talk to your ole man.
   c) He likes schcolate.
   d) On the way home I stopped in the store.

4. Which of the following indicate acquisition of the plural rule in English:

   a) test - tesses
   b) deer - deers
   c) goose - geese
   d) boy - boys

5. Which of the following indicate use of language for the communicative function of denial in English:

   a) There's nobody like Ray Charles.
   b) There isn't nobody like Ray Charles.
   c) There isn't anybody like Ray Charles.
   d) It ain't nobody like Ray Charles.

6. Which of the following curricular programs would you consider to be culturally relevant?

   a) one that concentrates on the community's holiday celebrations
   b) one that incorporates material on the community's historical and socio-economic background
   c) one that facilitates the Americanization of culturally different students
   d) one that builds on the child's language and daily home experiences

7. The following approaches are appropriate for teaching listening comprehension in a second language:

   a) substitution drills
   b) repetition drills
   c) total physical response exercises
   d) use of taped material in language labs

8. The following approaches are appropriate for teaching reading:

   a) global method (Freinet's)
   b) language-experience method
   c) syllabic method
   d) audio-lingual method

9. The first step in presentation of material during a second language class is:

   a) repetition drill of structure
   b) establishing meaning of structure
   c) communication through group and individual use of structure
   d) introduction of the question that relates to structure

10. Language development occurs

    a) in the teaching of ESL
    b) in the teaching of grammar
    c) in the teaching of science and history
    d) in periods of peer interaction

11. Non-standard language varieties differ from standard varieties

    a) in terms of grammar rules
    b) in their capacity to convey abstractions
    c) in their capacity to deal with the concrete
    d) in terms of colorful figures of speech and expressions

12. The concurrent approach in bilingual education allows the teacher

a) to mix the two languages as in code-switching interaction
b) to present subject matter discussed in two languages
c) to divide students into separate groups according to language dominance for instruction
d) to concentrate on the development of one language at a time

13. Which of the following approaches would you recommend for second language instruction?

a) memorization of long dialogue
b) presentation of isolated vocabulary items
c) manipulation and communication
d) pattern practice drills

14. Lau students are

a) students with non and limited English skills
b) non-achieving students with competence in another language
c) achieving bilingual students
d) only students with limited or no oral proficiency skills in English

15. Which of the following protections are ensured by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964?

a) no person can be denied equal educational opportunities on the basis of national origin
b) no person can be excluded from a federally funded program on the basis of race
c) no person can be denied access to bilingual education
d) no person can be forced into bilingual education

16. All speakers of a language

a) speak only one variety of language
b) speak several varieties of language
c) shift from one variety to another according to topic and situation
d) are monodialectal

17. Both Lau v. Nichols and AB 1329

a) address all bilingual students
b) address all non-achieving bilingual students
c) address only LES/NES students
d) address LES/NES students but Lau addresses additional bilingual students

18. The term "language proficiency" refers to

a) a student's grammatical competence in a language
b) only the oral proficiency skills of a student in a language
c) a student's speaking, listening, reading and writing skills in a language
d) a student's ability to function in a language in various situations

19. A limited-English student may be limited in

a) listening comprehension and speaking skills
b) reading and writing skills
c) communicative competence
d) grammatical competence

20. Which of the following skills are necessary for a bilingual teacher or aide:

a) the ability to give simple directions in two languages
b) the ability to describe past events in the two languages
c) the ability to propose, command and speculate in the two languages
d) the ability to analyze and evaluate in the two languages

21. If a bilingual child fails to respond adequately in the process of assessing his language proficiency in either language, then which of the following explanations should be considered or probed?

a) the child is alingual
b) the language assessment instrument is inadequate
c) the language assessor or tester is inadequate
d) the child does not understand the language assessing procedure
e) the child receives no training in language expression at home
f) the child feels uncomfortable and no rapport has been established with the tester

THE FOLLOWING ARE MATCHING QUESTIONS

22. Match the following language theories with their exponents:

1. Whorf-Sapir
2. Hymes
3. Chomsky
4. Piaget
5. Skinner

____ a. developmental theory
____ b. behaviorist theory
____ c. communicative competence theory
____ d. cultural-relativist determinist theory
____ e. preformationist-predeterminist theory

23. Match the following terms with the appropriate objective descriptions:

1. Monoliterate bilingual program
2. Transitional bilingual program
3. Maintenance bilingual program
4. Biliterate bilingual program

____ a) the objective is to help the student maintain and develop both languages
____ b) the objective is to mainstream the child eventually in regular English classes
____ c) the objective is to increase oral proficiency in the minority language and to introduce literacy skills in English
____ d) the objective is to teach curriculum dealing with cultural areas in the minority language and academic subject areas in English

24. Match the following theoretical positions in language development with specific positions on language acquisition:

1. Behaviorist
2. Cultural Relativist
3. Preformationist-Predeterminist
4. Interactionist

____ a) language is acquired because of a biological predisposition
____ b) language is acquired through selected reinforcement and conditioning. Language is taught.
____ c) language is acquired as a social necessity. It parallels the development of thinking and does not have to be taught.
____ d) language is acquired as a function of an innate biological propensity. Children have neurological structures specifically intended for language learning.

LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT INSTRUMENT TO DETERMINE IN-SERVICE NEEDS OF TEACHING STAFF

Name: ______________________________

Address: ____________________________

____

Q. 1) ______________
Q. 2) ______________
Q. 3) ______________
Q. 4) ______________
Q. 5) ______________
Q. 6) ______________
Q. 7) ______________
Q. 8) ______________
Q. 9) ______________
Q. 10) ______________
Q. 11) ______________
Q. 12) ______________
Q. 13) ______________
Q. 14) ______________
Q. 15) ______________
Q. 16) ______________
Q. 17) ______________
Q. 18) ______________
Q. 19) ______________
Q. 20) ______________
Q. 21) ______________
Q. 22) ______________
Q. 23) ______________
Q. 24) ______________

SCORE ____________

Suggested Areas of Skills to be Developed: second language strategies, sociolinguistics, bilingual models/classroom srategies, legal linguistics, language acquisition, multicultural education, reading strategies, language assessment, theory on language and cognition.

KEY TO LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT

1. a
2. a and d
3. c and d
4. a, b, c and d
5. a, b, c and d
6. b and d
7. c and d
8. a, b, and c
9. b
10. a, b, c and d
11. a
12. b
13. c and d
14. a and b
15. a and b
16. b and c
17. d
18. a, c and d
19. a, b, c and d
20. a, b, c and d

MATCHING

A) 1 - d 2 - c 3 - e 4 - a 5 - b

B) 1 - c 2 - b 3 - a 4 - d

C) 1 - b 2 - c 3 - d 4 - a

D) b, c, d and f

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE BILINGUAL SPECIALIST OR COORDINATOR:

If your teachers or aides fail to answer some of these questions, they may need workshops or training in the following areas:

1. Failure to answer question 1 correctly indicates lack of awareness of the relation between language and cognition.

2. Failure to answer question 2 correctly indicates a lack of linguistic training and a need for basic training in the analysis of English grammar.

3. Failure to answer question 3 correctly indicates a lack of understanding of what language interference is and the types that may occur in the learning of a second language. This information is important for ESL teachers as well as all teachers of LES/NES students.

4. Failure to answer question 4 correctly indicates a lack of information on language varieties and a confusion of form and function. This teacher or aide needs some basic sociolinguistic training.

5. Failure to answer question 5 correctly also indicates a confusion of function and form, like question 4. In both cases the student has the concepts but provides this information in nonstandard forms.

6. Failure to answer this question correctly indicates a superficial or mistaken concept of what a culturally-relevant curriculum is or should be.

7. Failure to answer question 7 correctly implies a need for a workshop on second language teaching techniques.

8. Failure to answer question 8 correctly implies a need for a workshop on reading methodology.

9. Failure to answer question 9 correctly implies a need for training in second language teaching techniques.

10. Failure to answer question 10 correctly implies a need to consider language development as an integral part of all teaching, whatever the subject content.

11. Failure to answer question 11 correctly implies a bias or lack of understanding about language varieties. This knowledge is important in the preparation of a language program.

12. Failure to answer question 12 correctly implies a need for training in the area of bilingual teaching techniques and approaches.

13. Failure to answer question 13 correctly implies a need for training in second language teaching techniques.

14. Failure to answer question 14 correctly implies a need for presentation on the Lau Decision and the Lau guidelines.

15. Failure to answer question 15 correctly implies a need to review federal legislation pertaining to bilingual education and the Civil Rights Act.

16. Failure to answer question 16 correclty implies a need for training in basic sociolinguistic concepts.

17. Failure to answer question 17 correctly implies a need for a presentation contrasting and comparing state and federal legislation, as it relates to bilingual education.

18. Failure to answer question 18 correctly implies a limited concept of language proficiency, an important point which will affect a teacher's decision on exiting bilingual students from bilingual education.

19. Failure to answer question 19 correctly, like question 18, indicates a limited view of what language proficiency and language development involve.

20. Failure to answer question 20 correctly indicates a faulty notion of the linguistic skills necessary for participation in a bilingual education program.

MATCHING

A. Failure to answer part or all of this question correctly indicates a need for a presentation on theories of language acquisition.

B. Failure to answer part or all of this question correctly indicates a need for a general presentation on the types of bilingual education programs that can be established, according to Joshua Fishman.

C. Failure to answer this question correclty indicates a need for training on the various theories on language acquisition.

D. Failure to answer this question correclty may indicate a biased attitude on the part of the teacher or aide towards the bilingual student. Instead of questioning the procedure, the instrument or his/her ability to establish rapport with the student or communicate the procedure to the student, the testor may simply blame the student, condemn his upbringing or send the child to a class for the mentally retarded.

APPENDIX C

EXAMPLE OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

Answer by circling or completing the following:

1. Your age: ________
2. You were born in: USA Mexico ____________
3. Your father was born in: USA Mexico ____________
4. Your mother was born in: USA Mexico ____________
5. Your grandparents (on father's side) were born in: USA Mexico _____
6. Your grandparents (on mother's side) were born in: USA Mexico ______
7. Your parents grew up in: Rural Area Urban Area
8. You grew up in: Rural Area Urban Area
9. You grew up in: USA Mexico ___________
10. Your home was in a: Town City of less than 100,000
    City over 100,000
11. You grew up in a: Barrio Integrated Community
12. What part of your elementary education did you receive in USA?
    all most some none
13. What part of your elementary education did you receive in Mexico (____)?
    all most some none
14. Circle number of years of secondary school completed in USA:
    0 1 2 3 4 5 6
15. Circle number of years of secondary school completed in Mexico (_____)?
    0 1 2 3 4 5 6
16. Circle father's occupation: White Collar Blue Collar Service Worker Farm Worker

17. Circle mother's occupation: Housewife Domestic Worker Clerical __________

18. Your father is: Monolingual in Spanish Monolingual in English Bilingual

19. Which language does your father use at home: Spanish English

20. Your mother is: Monolingual in Spanish Monolingual in English Bilingual

21. Which language does your mother use at home: Spanish English

22. At home you are always addressed in: Spanish English

23. At home you always respond in: Spanish English

24. You are: Monolingual in English Bilingual Monolingual in Spanish

25. If you are bilingual, which language do you use:

a) with friends: English Spanish A combination of both

b) with parents: English Spanish A combination of both

c) with grandparents: English Spanish A combination of both

d) with relatives: English Spanish A combination of both

e) with brothers and sisters: English Spanish A combination of both

f) with people in your hometown neighborhood:

English Spanish A combination of both

g) with your own children (if applicable):

English Spanish A combination of both

h) with husband or wife (if applicable):

English Spanish A combination of both

i) with older Chicanos: English Spanish A combination of both

j) with Chicano children: English Spanish A combination of both

26. When you first entered school in the USA, you were:

Monolingual in Spanish Monolingual in English Bilingual

27. Which language do you prefer to talk about _______:

a) your family: English Spanish A combination of both

b) school: English Spanish A combination of both

c) work: English Spanish A combination of both

d) Serious topics: English Spanish A combination of both

e) Humorous topics: English Spanish A combination of both

f) politics: English Spanish A combination of both

g) consumer goods: English Spanish A combination of both

h) technical subjects: English Spanish A combination of both

28. Which language do you prefer to use when you are

a) at home: English Spanish A combination of both

b) at school: English Spanish A combination of both

c) at work: English Spanish A combination of both

d) at church: English Spanish A combination of both

e) at the movies: English Spanish A combination of both

f) at the corner store: English Spanish A combination of both

g) at the supermarket: English Spanish A combination of both

29. What radio stations do you listen to:

Spanish Broadcast English Broadcast Both

30. Which Broadcast do you listen to more often?

Spanish English

31. What kind of music do you prefer?

American Pop Mexican Chicano ____________

32. Do you read books, newspapers or magazines in Spanish?

never sometimes hardly ever always

33. When you write home, you use: Spanish English Both

34. When you call home, you use: Spanish English Both

35. Which represents education of parents:

Six years or less | High School or less | Some College education or more

36. If you speak Spanish, where did you learn?

At Home   At School   With Relatives   With Friends   In Neighborhood

37. If you are bilingual, are you:

Dominant in English   Dominant in Spanish

38. As the years go by, what happens to your Spanish:

Learn more Spanish   Use more Spanish   Use less Spanish   Forget Spanish

39. In the United States, the Spanish language is:

An Asset   Relatively Unimportant   Completely Useless   A Hindrance

40. The Spanish spoken in the United States is:

Acceptable   Incorrect   Substandard   Unique   As good as any other

41. Do you initiate a conversation in one language and then shift to the other in mid conversation?

Always   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

APPENDIX D

EXAMPLE OF INTEGRATED THEMATIC/LANGUAGE/CONCEPT LESSON DEVELOPMENT

In pages 176-181 of this manual, the thematic development of "immigration" was presented. Here, a somewhat different development of this theme is presented which may more clearly relate to traditional curriculum requirements. The concepts in history directly related to immigration may be handled in the classroom in a variety of ways. Each concept could be treated as a unit/module to be studied by the whole year's program. Concepts identified can be either simplified or elaborated according to grade level. Some examples of concept simplification for the early primary grades are included.

Proper planning can integrate the teaching of concepts and language. A variety of language skills are presented that can be taught at the same time as the immigration concepts followed by examples of concept/language integration for ESL approaches.

Concepts in U.S. - Immigration History

-Many ways that could be handled - each concept a unit/ module or a year's program
-Can simplify concepts for 5th-6th grades, elaborate for jr. and high school

I. Indigenous Groups of U.S.

-American Indian
-Mexican

II. U.S. is a nation of immigrants

-Find out which groups live where
-Background of students & families

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III. Phases of immigration in U.S. history
different groups at different times

- -Mestizos, Spanish in Florida Southwest
- -Colonial Period - British, German, Dutch
- -Early 19th Century - Irish, Welsh, later German
- -Late 19th - early 20th non-Nordic
- -Russian, Italian, Jews, Polish
- -World War I to present
- -Mexican, Asian, Latin Americans, Cuban

IV. Internal migration

- -Blacks from South to North
- -Puerto Ricans from Mainland to New York & other places
- -Easterners to Sunbelt
- -Mexicans to Midwest

Reasons for moves - push-pull factors

V. Melting Pot thesis

- -Myths & Realities of thesis
  differences in group assimilations
    - -Some remain outsiders
    - -Some enter in political, economic levels - remain out culturally - Mexicans, Asians,
    - -Some have almost dual citizenship
    - -Some assimilate
- -Reactions to Immigration
    - -During economic crisis
    - -Restrictions/Quotas

VI. Forces shaping groups histories

- -Industrialization - different groups became industrial workers at different times
- -Kinds of work various workers participated in

VII. Urbanization

- -What is involved in urbanization process
- -What urbanization meant for U.S. history
- -Areas urbanize at different rates - some sections remain rural until 20th century
- -New experiences, skills required in urban living
- -Automation, bureaucratization

VIII. Current issues - World War II to present

- Japanese internment
- Questions of citizenship
- Mexican immigration - rise of undocumented workers - border issues
  - why do they come
  - who hires & why they hired
  - how does this affect others (i.e. Chicanos, other immigrant groups)
- Reactions for and against (analyze health care issues, crime, public services, exploitation)
- Alternative perspectives - (i.e. Mexico's views, alternative newspapers)

Adapting Some of the Concepts to Early Primary Grades:

- Kinds of homes people leave, vs. kinds of homes in new location;
- What artifacts do you take with you; how to go
- What would be missed most - what kinds of experiences might one look forward to:
- Feelings involved

Language Skills to be Taught with These Concepts

I. Oral history (interviewing parents, community members, leaders, & public figures

- Formulating questions
- Opening a conversation & leave taking
- Obtaining information to solve a problem
- Establishing rapport
- Reporting an event
- Synthesizing information - categorizing
- Making generalizations
- Analysis of perceptions vs. recorded events
- Analysis of interviews use of language (varieties, vocabulary, structure, functions, paralinguistic factors)

II. Library skills

- Using references
- Finding alternative sources
- Newspapers, periodicals

III. Content analysis - how arguments are developed

IV. Debating - arguing for & against

V. Teatro - role playing, creative dramatization of events

VI. Using statistical terms, census data, tables, charts

VII. Adaptation/translation of present texts to include minority histories change negative attitudes

ESL - Communicative Emphasis

Begin with one of language functions related to immigrants, e.g.:

Making Requests

New Immigrant

- How do you structure survival (needs, information, service) requests, and rituals (greetings, introductions)
- Provide range of options available, Practice in real situations, change context, addressee, level of formality

Intermediate

Group makes judgements of appropriateness of request for :

- Speech style, grammar, vocabulary, pronounciation; for situation;
- Non-verbal behaviors;
- Affective meaning - change adjectives to see differences of meaning

Advanced - Elaborate Requests

- Cultural implications of saying it one way vs. another
- Inferring implied meanings
- Changing intonation, undertones, pitch, style

IMMIGRATION AS A TOPIC FOR LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT IN VARIOUS SUBJECT CONTENT AREAS

The following three dialogues will serve as the basis for instruction in language, math, science, history, social science, and ESL.

I. Diálogo de una familia imigrante:

Juanita de 11 años: -¿En Los Angeles venden cacahuates y jugos?

Don Vincente: -Sí, m'hijita, en Los Angeles venden de todo. Las veces que yo he estado allí en las fábricas hasta tacos y chilaquiles he comprado. ¿No ves que allá hay mucha gente mexicana y por dondequiera se oye el español?

Patricia: -¿Y dónde vivió Ud., Apá? ¿Tenía casa o apartamiento?

Don Vicente: -Pues, mira, como en otras veces no tenía papeles, es decir, mis documentos, tuve que pasarla allí, arrinconado con una familia. A veces nos juntábamos ocho, nueve y rentabámos un cuarto o un garaje pero esta vez tenemos que conseguir un lugarcito para todos juntos.

Doña Anita: -¿Tu crees que el compadre Tino nos pueda ayudar, Chente?

Don Vicente: -Sí, mujer, no te preocupes. Ya verás.

Doña Anita: -Lo que más me preocupa es haber dejado a los muchachos en Sinaloa. Ojalá que pronto juntemos un dinerito para traerlos acá también.

Don Vicente: -Así será, mujer. El trabajo en la planta no ha de pagar gran cosa pero una vez instalados, ya que aprenda un poco de inglés, las cosa irán bien. Ya verás.

Doña Anita: -En todo caso, yo también puedo trabajar aunque sea de gata, limpiando casas.

II. En la planta

-Oye, mano, ¿a qué horas nos largamos?

-Pos, dicen que nos van a echar temprano porque no ha llegado el resto de la fruta.

-Simón, ése, se aventaron los troqueros. Se pusieron en huelga esta mañana.

-Nomás que no nos pagan. Y sin feria no refinamos, ni yo ni mi ruca ni los escuincles.

-Chale, ése. Hay que seguirles la onda a los troqueros. Porque si no, ya estufas.

-Pos, tú dirás qué hay que hacer, hombre, porque yo ya estoy bien fregado.

-Vente entonces a mi casa esta noche. Allí nos juntamos para periquiar.

III. Una familia imigrante

Doña Anita: -Chente, ¿tú crees que podamos ahorrar unos centavitos para salirnos de este barrio? Ya no aguanto este ruido. Nada funciona bien, ni el baño, ni la estufa, ni la luz.

Don Vicente: -¿Pero cómo, mujer? ¡Si apenas nos alcanza para pagar la renta! Lo poquito que gané extra el sábado pasado no va a alcanzar ni para los zapatos de los niños.

Doña Anita: -Pues pídele un aumento al patrón. Dile que no te alcanza para la renta ni la comida menos para la ropa de los muchachos.

Don Vicente: -¿Tú crees que me oiga? Lo primero que hace es botarme. No ves que hay tanto desempleado, que el primero que abre la boca para quejarse o pedir aumento, lo echan. Per ya estuve hablando con los muchachos para ver qué hacemos.

Doña Anita: -¡Y a mí que me paga por pieza! Bueno fuera que pudiera avanzarle más y coser más rápido. Pero ya más no puedo. Salgo muerta del cansancio. Pero allí entre las mujeres se está hablando de meternos a la unión.....

LANGUAGE ARTS

The presentation of the preceding short dialogues will serve as a springboard for further development of the students' primary language in terms of Halliday's language functions. We are assuming a 5th or 6th grade level for these particular activities.

1. Instrumental - language as a means of getting things done. Here language is used as a means of communicating one's needs and desires. In terms of the dialogues, the students may be asked to:
    a. role-play to allow them the opportunity to express the needs and desires of individual members of this immigrant family.
    b. write letters to various agencies (i.e., Immigration Office) to communicate needs and treatment of this Mexican immigrant family.
2. Regulatory - use of language to regulate the behavior of others.
    Here the student would have the opportunity to practice different types of requests: requests for action (role-play request for higher wages, lowering of rent, improvements of housing, etc.). This activity would enable the student to note and practice the different types of regulatory language according to role of speaker, social system and communciation network, language variety and domain.

3. Interactional - the use of language in one's relationships with others.

   The student would be able to see from the second dialogue, that the workers at the plant interact and strenghten group ties through the use of their calo code. The student would then be allowed to practice code-shifting from one variety to another according to the relationship between speaker and listener.

4. Personal -this function enables one to express one's individuality.

   Activities for developing this function will enable the student to express beliefs, uncertainty, exasperation, contradictions and denials. For these particular dialogues, the student would be encouraged to express his opinions and his evaluation of the situation in the dialogues. A role-playing situation could also be created where a student expressed his views and feelings as one of the characters. This practice would then be transferred to the real world where the student could express himself on some other class issue.

5. Heuristic - this function enables the use of language as a means of finding out, questioning.

   It is probably the most important function for it will help the student develop skills for studying and learning.

   a. in a role-playing situation, the student could practice requesting information on housing and employment.
   b. the student could also be led to question some of the

statements in the dialogue to the point where he has to verify population and language census statistics, wage, and employment statistics for Mexican immigrants and the role of unionization. The student would thus be learning to challenge, question, compare, and verify.

c. the student could also be encouraged to think in terms of cause and effect. The student could be led to speculate on causes for immigration, causes of low wages, causes of unionization and so on.

6. Representational - the use of language as a means of conveying information and expressing propositions.

Here the student would be encouraged to make assertions and interpretations of:

1) researched material on immigration (from function 5)
2) situations of family members as revealed through dialogues

These activities would enable the student to synthesize materials. The student could also be encouraged to propose ways to alleviate conditions of these particular immigrants in the dialogues.

The student would then be encouraged to go from a particular situation to discussing orally or in written form the broader issue of Mexican immigration, both documented and undocumented.

Through these activities the student would also learn to organize and classify information.

7. Imaginative - this function allows the use of language to create an unreal situation.
   Activities for developing this function would allow the use and practice of particular tenses, like the conditional and subjunctive in Spanish, to express unreal situations. One such question to be postulated could be: ¿Qué harías tú si ganaras muy poco y tu familia no tuviera lo necesario para vivir?

Each of these functions would require the introduction of additional vocabulary and particular forms and situations. The content, however, would increase the ability to use language meaningfully and increase cognitive skills.